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COVER: The front cover print "Cowboy in the Indian Territory" is from an old print advertising harness, saddles and buggies in *The Vinita Chieftain* for January 27, 1898. This newspaper was a great advertiser for northeastern Indian Territory, a wide prairie region noted for its cattle ranches and agricultural products, and the Indian International Fair at Muskogee.

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY

The Chronicles of Oklahoma has reached a milestone in history. Over a quarter of a century after the organization of the Oklahoma Historical Society in 1893, its Board of Directors made definite plans for the publication of a quarterly magazine devoted to the history of Oklahoma. This was an important step toward the preservation of the Society's collections as well as for better organization of its newspaper department, library and museum. The magazine was planned to devote its pages to all phases of Oklahoma's past, and to encourage the systematic collection of old diaries, documents and records for preservation by the Society.

More than six months were spent in collecting and editing proper materials for publication in addition to planning the format and the printing of the first issue. The new magazine came off the press in January, 1921, under the title, *Chronicles of Oklahoma.* The contributors to the first issue were all well-known writers and historians on the faculty of the University of Oklahoma, including Dr. James S. Buchanan, Editor of the magazine, and Edward Everett Dale, Associate Editor. The second issue (Volume 1, Number 2) was published in October, 1921, and the third issue, in June, 1923. Two years had passed in publishing the first volume yet *Chronicles of Oklahoma* had made a place for itself in the Oklahoma history field.

Since March, 1924, the magazine has appeared regularly as a quarterly of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Many noted writers throughout the country as well as students of history from different states have contributed articles pertaining to the history of this south-central region that are now a real part of the records in Oklahoma. There are now 48 volumes with 192 issues—each issue a book within itself—covering a wealth of historical data on anthropology, archeology, history of American Indians, exploring expeditions, government surveys, U.S. military posts, territorial and state boundary lines, missions and schools, pioneer settlement, land openings, and political history of Indian Territory and Oklahoma. Some changes of format were made through the years to keep abreast of modern trends in the publication, with the change in the name of Chronicles to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* made in 1943.

In commemoration of its Fiftieth Anniversary, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* here presents Dr. Edward Everett Dale's essay, "The Spirit of Sooner Land," found in Volume I of *Chronicles of Oklahoma.*

—The Editor

THE SPIRIT OF SOONER LAND*

By Edward Everett Dale

It is an old axiom that the roots of the present lie deep in the past. "Behind institutions," says Professor J. Turner, "behind constitutional forms and modifications lie the vital forces that call these organs into life and shape them to meet the changing conditions." [1]

The Easterner who visits Oklahoma for the first time often expresses surprise at finding conditions here so similar to those of much older settled regions. Remembering that the State of Oklahoma is barely sixteen years old and that the first opening of lands to white settlement came less than thirty-five years ago, the visitor from the North or East hardly expects to see thriving cities with all modern appointments, well tilled farms with attractive buildings, and scores of busy towns and villages, quite as modern as those of similar size in his own State. He sees on every hand evidences of prosperity and progress; there is little or nothing to remind him of these stark pioneer days so recent as to be a vivid memory to many comparatively young men still living in the State. The casual visitor is therefore likely to gain the impression that Oklahoma and Oklahomans are identical with any other fairly new western state and its inhabitants.

However, if he remains long and is a person of cultivation and scholarly instincts he will discover soon that there is a difference. That there are some evident peculiarities here and that the reasons for these peculiarities must be sought in Oklahoma's strange and varied history. The reasons then for the peculiarities, those vital forces which have helped to shape Oklahoma's institutions and social conditions and to differentiate them from those of other states are the things treated in this paper with the object of trying to show why Oklahoma society is different from that of any other state possessing, as it does, a certain intangible

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* This note is added in the republication of "The Spirit of Sooner Land" so the reader may bear in mind that the sketch was written by Dr. Edward Everett Dale for *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, with the dates mentioned at the time of the writing, 1923. Dr. Dale has continued as an active member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society for fifty years, and still serves on the Publication Committee of *The Chronicles*. He is held in high esteem as the "Dean of Oklahoma Historians," and has authored many books and published articles relating to Oklahoma and the Southwest.—Ed.

[1] Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, p. 2.

quality which for want of a better term may be called the "Spirit of Sooner Land."

The most significant thing in all Oklahoma history has been the Indian occupation of this region. It is the fact that for more than half a century Oklahoma was a great Indian territory owned exclusively by many tribes of varying degrees of civilization holding their lands in common and living under some form of tribal government. A recent report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs gives the number of Indians in the United States as about 335,000. Of these 120,000, or considerably more than one-third, live in Oklahoma. [2] They include remnants of some sixty-five or seventy tribes but approximately four-fifths belong to the Five Civilized Tribes of the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Seminole.

Anglo-Saxon greed and the lust for land drove the red man westward. Then there was come faint stirring of the white man's conscience and an effort was made to make these people secure in this last home that was left to them with the result that whites were forbidden to enter this region. It was as though a dike or wall had been erected about Oklahoma by governmental decree—a wall impervious to the waves of white settlement that beat and surged against it. Here for fifty years and more lay this great Indian country, a region larger than all New England, an attractive but little inhabited island of wilderness in the midst of swirling current of civilization. [3] Slowly the pioneer settlers crept westward on either side enveloping it but the wall held firm. However, in advance of agricultural settlement on the western plains came the ranchmen with their flocks and herds eager to take possession of the rich pasture lands left vacant by the slaughter of the buffalo. Attracted by the excellent pasturage those ranchmen at last began to trickle through the barrier erected about Oklahoma and to occupy the Indian lands with their herds. An industry more fluid in its nature than agriculture began to penetrate this dike, that had proved impervious to white settlement in the ordinary sense of the term, and to spread itself over the fertile pasture lands within.

For a brief period the ranchmen held sway, particularly in

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[2] Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1916, pp. 73-74.

[3] New England contains about 66,460 square miles; Oklahoma, including the Panhandle, contains 70,057 square miles.

western Oklahoma, pasturing the land by virtue of agreements made with bands of savage tribesmen or of acts of the legislative bodies of the more civilized tribes, passed in some cases through the influence of the cattlemen. [4]

Seeking as they did to discourage the opening of those Indian lands to agricultural settlement, the ranchmen by their very presence did much to render such action inevitable. Soon it came. The pressure from without became too strong to be resisted; the barrier gave way and a flood of pioneer settlers came pouring in, peopling Oklahoma with a farming population whose society and methods of agriculture were primitive enough at first but which steadily advanced, making the region one of improved agriculture where in time grew up cities and towns and all the complex organizations of industrial and commercial life. Oklahoma history is therefore but a part of a much larger history, that of the conquest and development of the American Wilderness. This is a movement that has always been characterized by the appearance of successive stages of society, that of the hunter and Indian trader, of the pastoral stage; followed in turn by primitive agriculture, by higher forms of agriculture, by towns and cities, factories and commerce. Most parts of the United States have gone through all these stages of social development. The remarkable thing about Oklahoma is that it has seen them all in the space of little more than a quarter of a century.

Viewed from this standpoint, Oklahoma history is the story of the evolution of civilization, of the development of society, of human progress. This marvelously rapid change, this phenomenal development has been the greatest thing in the State's history and has given to present conditions in Oklahoma their most distinguishing characteristics.

Viewed from another standpoint, the development of Oklahoma, so far as the mere peopling of the region is concerned, may be divided into two periods: that of settlement by the Indian and that of settlement by the white man. The first began about 1820 and continued with various breaks and intermissions until about 1880. [5] The white settlement of western Oklahoma began with the

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[4] See Edward Everett Dale, "The Ranchman's Last Frontier," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for June, 1923, for a brief account of the activities of the ranchmen in Oklahoma.

[5] See Chas. J. Kappler, *Indian Laws and Treaties* or *U. S. Statutes at Large* for the treaties removing various Indian tribes to Oklahoma.

opening of "Old Oklahoma" to settlement in 1889 and ended, technically speaking, in 1906, with the auction sale of the lands of the Big Pasture. [6] Naturally there has been a great influx of people since that time but this was a normal settlement the same as that of nearly every other western state. During the first period, that of Indian settlement, much of Oklahoma was little more than a wilderness. During the second period, the part occupied by whites was largely speaking in the stage of more or less primitive agriculture, while between the two and well overlapping each of them lay that brief space of time when the power of the ranchman was at its height.

Certain significant features of each of these periods must be noted because of their influence upon present day conditions. The Five Civilized Tribes in their old home in Tennessee and the Gulf States occupied what may be described as a strategic region. Holding as they did the passes through the Southern Appalachians, and also the lower reaches of the Mississippi, as well as the headwaters of many of its tributaries and of the streams that flow into the Gulf, it was inevitable that any people who expected to hold the mouth of the Mississippi or the shores of the Gulf of Mexico must reckon with them. As a result they very early came in contact with the Spanish, the French and the English, each of which intrigued with them constantly and ceaselessly sought to win their favor. These tribes thus became schooled quite early in the arts of diplomacy and political intrigue. The training received in playing off one European nation against the other they later used, and still further developed, in negotiations with the United States relative to their removal to Oklahoma, and even after they had reached the State in the constant struggle they were forced to make in order to retain their lands and to prevent legislation by Congress unfavorable to what they considered their best interests. [7]

Just as the pioneer settler among the Indians soon discovered that he must learn the ways of savage warfare, that he must match skill with skill and cunning with cunning, that he must all too often change from a man of peace to a man of war, so did the

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[6] See S. J. Buck, "Oklahoma," in Wisconsin Academy Transactions, XV., p. 235 or Emma Estill, *"Openings of Oklahoma Lands to Settlement,"* for accounts of the white settlement of Oklahoma lands.

[7] An examination of the private papers of John Ross, General Stand Watie, or any other of the great leaders of the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes must convince the reader that these were men of rare political ability.

Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes eventually discover that they could not stand against the whites in the field of battle and must, if they expected to hold their lands and survive as nations, learn to beat the white man at his own game of diplomacy and intrigue. Like the Jews of medieval Europe, who found that they must develop their commercial ability to the highest point, because safety from persecution lay in the possession of wealth, so did the Indian find that he must advance in political ability in order to gain or hold by negotiation what he had found he could not gain or hold by force of arms. Interest in politics was also greatly fostered by the fact that these tribes were virtually independent nations, small enough for any citizen to aspire to the highest office in the gift of his people, and were in many cases divided into parties and factions that frequently made political contests within the tribe extremely bitter. All these things served in time to make the Five Civilized Tribes nations of diplomats and skilled politicians.

The results are obvious to the student of Oklahoma history. Oklahoma has received the benefit, if it is a benefit, of this heritage of political training coming to the people of eastern Oklahoma through generations, extending back to the time when Spain, France and England struggled together for the possession of this continent, each seeking as allies the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes.

In the formation of the state government, the control of the Constitutional Convention fell largely into the hands of that group of men from eastern Oklahoma, who had been trained in the hard school of Indian politics. The president of the Constitutional Convention was an intermarried citizen and had been prominent in the public affairs of his wife's tribe.[8] The Sergeant-at-Arms of this body was Indian, while some 20 per cent of its membership were either Indians or intermarried citizens.[9] The first three Governors of the State of Oklahoma came from the region of the Five Civilized Tribes and one of them was an intermarried citizen of the Chickasaw tribe.[10] One of our United

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[8] William H. Murray, President of the Constitutional Convention, married a niece of Governor Johnston of the Chickasaw Nation. He was for some time private secretary to Governor Johnston and in this way became very familiar with the tribal affairs of Oklahoma.

[9] Among the prominent members of the Constitutional Government of Indian blood were O. H. P. Brewer, B. F. Harrison, Gabe Parker, Albert S. Wyly, H. L. Cloud, Chas. O. Frye, C. V. Rogers and a number of others, in addition to quite a number of intermarried citizens.

[10] Lee Cruce, the second Governor, married a member of the Chickasaw tribe.

States senators is Indian and had long years experience with the tribal affairs of his people. [11] Among the Oklahoma Representatives in Congress there has always been one Indian and usually two, as at present. [12] Every State Legislature has had many prominent members of Indian blood. The Speaker of the lower House twelve years ago was Indian, the Speaker of the present House is Indian. [13] A people numbering less than 6 per cent of the total population has given to Oklahoma perhaps 20 to 25 per cent of its most prominent public men. [14] It is not claimed that there is any magic in Indian blood to make its possessor a statesman. The conditions here given are due largely to the long experience of these men in tribal affairs and to a certain solidarity, or race consciousness on the part of the Indian peoples that sometimes gives the Indian candidate for office a distinct advantage over his white opponent.

Important as has been the influence of the Indian upon Oklahoma politics, his influence upon the economic and social conditions of the State have been hardly less striking. Contrary to popular opinion the Indian is not dying out. The number of full bloods is decreasing very rapidly but the number of mixed bloods is increasing with proportional rapidity. Except in the case of a very few individuals there is no prejudice in Oklahoma against Indian blood. It is recognized as very good blood and a cause for pride.

The Indian is advancing rapidly educationally and this naturally draws the races closer together and serves to obliterate differences. There are nearly two hundred students of Indian blood enrolled in the University of Oklahoma, while the Cherokee actually have a larger percentage of their children attending school than have the whites of Oklahoma. [15] Intermarriage is absorbing the Indian very rapidly into the white. The physical char-

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[11] Robert L. Owens was for several years Indian agent for the Union Agency, which had charge of all the Five Civilized Tribes.

[12] W. W. Hastings, of the second district, is Cherokee, while C. D. Carter, of the third district, is Chickasaw.

[13] W. A. Durant, of the Choctaw Nation, was Speaker of the House during the sessions of the Third Legislature, while Murray Gibbons, of the Chickasaw tribe, is Speaker of the present or Ninth Legislature.

[14] See *Daily Oklahoman* for June 17, 1923, for an article giving a list of Indians holding important state offices in Oklahoma.

[15] Report of the Survey of Public Education in Oklahoma, p. 316, and Ninth Biennial Report of State Superintendent of Public Instruction for Oklahoma, p. 7.

acteristics of the race are fading out. Yet there will never be less Indian blood in Oklahoma than at present. It will merely be more widely diffused.

Into the fabric of Oklahoma's citizenship then there is being steadily woven this red thread of the Indian. Steadily the Indian blood is becoming more thoroughly distributed, the Indian characteristics of patience, of perseverance, of steadfast loyalty to a friend and stern hatred for a foe are becoming more and more widely disseminated. People of Indian blood are to be found in every business and profession giving a flavor to Oklahoma society, adding their bit to the Spirit of Soonerland. Perhaps the time may come when the Indian, recognizable as such, may have almost ceased to exist in Oklahoma, but may this not be a case of he who loses his life shall find it, to the end that the influence of Indian blood in Oklahoma shall be infinitely greater in the future than it has ever been in the past?

Important as has been this period of Indian occupation, the coming of the white settlers has not been without its significance also. Migration westward in the United States has usually been more or less along parallel lines but Oklahoma settlement was a gathering in of people from all points of the compass. The method of settlement was peculiar. The peopling of most western states has been by a slow, steady infiltration, that of much of Oklahoma was by a series of sudden rushes, a throwing down of barriers all at once which allowed large areas to be occupied in a single day. The settling of most states has been like the slow leaking of water into the hold of an old type ship; that of Oklahoma was like the sudden bursting of water into a modern vessel divided into many water tight compartments. The first rush filled one compartment, then the others were filled, one by one, until at last the interior walls gave way and the entire vessel was full. The West has always attracted the strong, active and adventurous, but this was particularly true of Oklahoma because of this method of settlement. The people who came to win a home in this region must of necessity be strong, virile, aggressive. The race was to the swift, the battle of the strong. As a writer of that time put it, Oklahoma made an addition to the old saying: "Autocracy, to every man according to his breed; plutocracy, to every man according to his greed; democracy, to every man according to his deed." To this Oklahoma added, in the days of the runs, "Mobocracy, to every man according to his speed."

This meant young people and Oklahoma became a real king-

dom of youth. This is a characteristic that has persisted down to the present time. Oklahomans who visit New England for the first time are struck with surprise at the number of old people they see everywhere. New Englanders visiting Oklahoma for the first time almost invariably speak of the youth of the people.

But free farms have not been the only thing to attract young, vigorous, aggressive people to Oklahoma. Curiously enough, about the time free land of western Oklahoma was all gone came the beginning of that marvelous oil development operating in a fashion not unlike that of the former land runs.

The discovery of each new oil field brought results something like those of the former opening of Indian reservations to settlement, causing a new run of hardy, adventurous young people, a run partaking somewhat of the nature of the former ones for claims. Thus Oklahoma became filled with young people, of this active, virile type, eager to improve their worldly condition, willing to take a chance, counting the amount of material gain the true standard of success. Under their compelling hands, towns and cities arose like magic, wealth came to thousands within a brief space of time, and Oklahoma began to come into her own.

The results of this history so hastily sketched are not far to seek. Politically they may be seen in the State government regarded as quite radical fifteen years ago and still considered somewhat so by the inhabitants of the older and more conservative states of the East. Any radicalism or peculiar features in the State government is largely due to the fact that the people of Oklahoma came from virtually every state in the Union, each settler bringing with him ideas formed because of conditions in his own particular commonwealth, ideas which he was eager to see put into operation in this new State.[16] Oklahoma with a population coming from every state in the Union early put into its fundamental law and statutes, provisions borrowed from virtually every other commonwealth, as well as certain original things which it was difficult for older and more conservative states to try out.

The peculiar history of Oklahoma has produced even more striking economic and social results than it has political. It has given the State a population thoroughly imbued with that some-

[16] See S. J. Buck, "Oklahoma," Wisconsin Academy Transactions XV, for figures showing what percentages of the inhabitants of Oklahoma Territory came from the various states and sections.

what intangible thing which the students of the University of Oklahoma call "Sooner Spirit." Briefly stated, it is merely a spirit of youth, of daring, of optimism, of belief in one's self, and in the future. It manifests itself in an eagerness for action, a desire for adventure, a willingness to take a chance. It is a pioneering spirit. Half a dozen years ago, when the possibilities of oil in north Texas were under consideration, it was Oklahoma capitalists who rushed in where the Eastern financiers dared not tread, venturing their money in the opening up of the magnificent Burkburnett and Ranger fields. In every economic and social activity this splendid spirit of youth, of energy, of optimism, of eager willingness to dare and do, has manifested itself. Born of our remarkable history, it has builded cities, and opened up farms and wrung the rich mineral treasures from the heart of the earth. It has erected homes and schools and churches and colleges. It points with pride to what has been accomplished and holds out brilliant promises for the future.

Admirable in many respects as is a society with such an inheritance and thoroughly permeated with such a spirit, it is not without its weaknesses and its dangers. In the midst of our activity, we have come to over-emphasize the importance of the man of action as compared with the man of thought. In our buoyant youth we have the faults of youth. They manifest themselves in our speech, our work, our dress, our amusements. There is too little regard for the wisdom that comes with age and experience and training. In the evolution of society, to which reference has been made, we have seen such vast changes and always for the better, that there is danger we may come to regard mere change as progress and so not allow sufficient time really to test anything before we wish to go on to something new. In the abundance of our natural resources we forget that these should be conserved and become wasteful and inefficient in their use.

Very seriously should we in Oklahoma consider whether in our pride at what we have already done we may not be wasting too much time to shouting it from the house tops and calling all the world to come and see, heedless of the fact that there is yet much to do in the accomplishment of which this time might be better spent. Most important of all, in the midst of our building of homes and churches and cities it is possible that we may come to regard fine buildings and furniture and equipment as ends in themselves rather than as means to the end.

The writer has tried to show that these defects and dangers

in common with our virtues and strength are the natural and even inevitable results of our curious history. Oklahoma could not at present be other than it is, but the future will doubtless tell a far different story.

The old time Oklahoma pioneer had his vision, as Professor Becker in his brilliant essay on "Kansas" so well puts it, "he had seen, like Augustine, his city of God," and this sight sustained him through all the trials and hardships of the early days. [17] Like Christian he saw afar off the Celestial City. It was a city of golden streets and magnificent mansions; in short, of wonderful physical greatness. He saw his rude sod shanty transformed into a comfortable farmhouse, the nearby village of two stores and a blacksmith shop into a thriving town with paved streets, water works, and brick business blocks. He saw good roads, rural mail delivery, telephones, electric lights and all the comforts of civilization. That dream has now come true.

But in his eager seeking after things of the flesh it was perhaps inevitable that the Oklahoma pioneer should neglect the things of the spirit . . . Physically speaking, materially considered frontier conditions in Oklahoma have gone forever. But culturally we are yet pioneers living upon our intellectual frontier. The material wilderness has been conquered, it yet remains to complete the conquest of the cultural and intellectual wilderness. Perhaps it will be more difficult process for a society such as ours but there are in Oklahoma many old time pioneers who have caught a vision of this new Celestial City and are bending every effort to the task of making their dreams come true. . .

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[17] Carl Lotus Becker, Kansas, in Turner Essays, p. 97.

THE INDIAN INTERNATIONAL FAIR AT MUSKOGEE

By Muriel H. Wright

The first Indian International Fair meeting at Muskogee in October, 1874, placed this new town on the M. K. & T. Railroad on its way to become the leading city in the Indian Territory. Among its agricultural exhibits, the Fair featured fine horses—"running, trotting, pacing . . . not less than one thousand horses on the grounds." Beautiful daughters of the Cherokees, Creeks and Seminoles were in attendance, and ladies' handiwork was well represented in the exhibits. A report on the Fair, dated at Muskogee October 28 and signed with the initials "G.A.R.", was published in the *Oklahoma Star* at Caddo, Indian Territory, on November 6, 1874: [1]

G. McPherson
Editor of the Star:

The first annual fair of the Indian territory is now in progress at this place. The crowd in attendance today is very large. There are more people in Muskogee to-day than attended the Kansas State fair on its best day. The exhibition of horses, hogs and poultry, would be a credit to any county fair in the older states. Of course this is an experiment, and being the first ever held as a Territorial exhibition, there is more or less *friction* in managing the show. The great feature of the day is the horse element; there has been running and trotting and pacing. There certainly is not less than a thousand horses on the grounds, and some of them are very fine. There is an average amount of farming implements, wagons and such like useful articles.

The ladies department is well represented, both in articles exhibited and of the number, intelligence and beauty of the fair ones themselves. I noticed, on the grounds, Chief W. P. Ross' accomplished daughter, Mrs. Maj. Lyons formerly the beautiful Miss Meiga, Mrs. Maj. Foreman, and daughter, and a number of the fairest of the Creeks' and Seminoles daughters.

Much of the credit of this really successful fair is due to Maj. Foreman who, with Col. Joshua Ross, have been untiring in their efforts to make this a grand success.

This fair is an advance step in the right direction, and it should be encouraged by everyone who desires the advancement of the Indian people. The soil and climate of the territory is so well adapted to the growth of cotton and grains, and the raising of cattle, horses and hogs that the real prosperity of the people lies in the encouragement of all these branches of industry. The elevation of the race is in fostering industrial pursuits, the education of the people and the progress of moral teachings. These fairs bring all the people together in friendly competition and interchange of opinions gained from actual experiment.

Next year the territorial fair will be one of the grand accomplishments of this country.

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[1] *Oklahoma Star* (or Caddo Star), November 6, 1874, p. 1, col. 3, in Newspaper Department, Oklahoma Historical Society.

There are a number of people from adjoining states; Dr. A. G. Long, wife and son. Miss Libbie Reynolds and yours truly are here from Parsons, Kansas. G.A.R.

The first fair was held on a site east of Muskogee, the later location of the Muskogee General Hospital. It was organized by well-known Cherokee and Creek leaders in the vicinity including P. N. Blackstone, Robert B. Ross, J. S. Atkinson, F. W. Gulager, Major John A. Foreman and Joshua Ross who was the secretary and carried on the great burden of the work in the organization. A tract of 160 acres was leased from the Creek Nation which was fenced and buildings for the horses and exhibits erected, with a half-mile race track laid out on the grounds. Awards for exhibits in agriculture and in the ladies' department were given. A side saddle for the best woman rider was won by Mrs. Eliza McSpadden. [2] The Fair was a great success with a reported 5,000 from the Five Civilized Tribes and visitors from the states in attendance.

The year of the first Indian International Fair at Muskogee was marked by a change in the agencies for the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole nations with their consolidation as the Union Agency. With the erection of a handsome stone building for the headquarters of the new agency, Muskogee soon was virtually recognized as the capital of the Indian Territory. [3] The completion of the building in 1875 furthered the founding of the Indian International Fair as an institution by a resolution approved by the General Council of the Indian Territory, meeting at Okmulgee, May 7, 1875. This resolution was signed by Enoch Hoag, a prominent Quaker, who was Superintendent of Indian Affairs and President of the General Council; and by the well-known George W. Grayson of the Creek Nation who signed as secretary. The officers of the International Fair organization were Major John A. Foreman, President, Joshua Ross, Secretary, and N. B. Moore, Treasurer. [4]

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[2] Grant Foreman, "Expositions have grown and multiplied, adding to the culture of the State," *Muskogee Daily Phoenix*, Sunday, September 19, 1938, p. 13-B. The page headline of this story states: "The First Fair in Oklahoma Organized 90 Years Ago in Cherokee Nation." This refers to the Fair held at Tahlequah on August 16, 1845, by the Agricultural Society of the Cherokee Nation.

[3] The old Union Agency building at Muskogee now is the Five Civilized Tribes Museum, one of Oklahoma's outstanding museums.

[4] See *Appendix B* for the fascimile of this Resolution of the General Council, organizing the Indian International Fair.

The organization of the Indian International Fair by the General Council meeting at Okmulgee brought representative groups from the Plains tribes in attendance at the second Fair in Muskogee in 1875. It opened with a big parade of different groups and bands carrying banners—the Cherokee banner with the motto, "Agriculture is the Source of Wealth"; and the Creek with the motto, "Charity for all, Malice Towards None, and Firmness in the Right," Peorias with "We would Learn a Better Way"; and the Osages "Come and See the Figure of the Plow and Follow Me"; the Caddos and Apaches with "The Result of Peace," and two groups of Comanches carrying banners reading "We wish to Learn" and "Preserve Our Liberties." Then came the Kiowas with their banner and motto, "We need Schools, Cows and Ploughs." Brass bands furnished music, one from Cincinnati, Arkansas followed by a Negro delegation, and other bands from Fort Gibson and from Sulphur Springs, Texas. A large group of citizens on horseback completed the parade. [5]

The exhibits of robes, furs, vests, blankets, shirts, moccasins, bows and arrows, buckskin dresses and other fine beadwork were all entered by the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Comanche and Kiowa. There was great competition for the side saddle awarded the best woman rider.

When these western riders came in sight, wild waves of enthusiasm swept over the crowd. The outstanding candidate for the side saddle award was the young Cheyenne wife of a prominent Plains Indian. "She not only thrilled the onlookers by her fine riding, but created a sensation by riding astride," the way the women of the Plains tribes rode in those days. This was new to the eastern Indian women and created much comment. The young Cheyenne, "Queen of the Prairie," won the side saddle award which she probably traded for a fine saddle that she could use. [6]

A rival fair organized by some of the Cherokees was held at Fort Gibson under the auspices of the Cherokee Fair and Agricultural Association in 1877. Yet the Indian International Fair at Muskogee continued as the leading exposition through the years. Well-known citizens of the Creek Nation and cattlemen in the region besides progressive business men of Muskogee gave strong support to the Muskogee Fair. Among these men was one Will R. Robison of a well-known Creek family who as a young

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[5] Grant Foreman, *op. cit.*, in *Muskogee Daily Phoenix*, 1938.

[6] *Ibid.*

man began his participation in this Fair in 1877. He and his father, Lieut. Col. William Robison, were both born and reared in the Indian Territory, their lives spanning a period of one hundred years in which the Creek people progressed and were active in the development of this country that became Oklahoma. Will R. Robison has left notes on his life in which he mentions his interest in horses and the great races held at the Indian International Fair at Muskogee as early as 1877. Robison's notes are doubly interesting for history and data on life in the Indian Territory. His sketch is given here from the Indian Archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society. [7]

Notes of Will R. Robison on His Life

I was born close to old Stonewall in the Chickasaw Nation, February 26, 1865.

My mother, Adeline McClish, was a fullblood Chickasaw Indian. She came to the Chickasaw Nation with her father, Judge James McClish from Georgia in 1832 [1838] during the removal of the Indians.

My father Colonel William Robison was a Creek Indian and came from Alabama to the Territory during the removal in 1832. [8] His father, (my grandfather), went to California during the gold rush after the removal to the territory. The Indians all called Alabama, Georgia and Tennessee the old country.

When I was four years old, we moved from Stonewall to a little town called Springfield, about three miles west and a little south of what is now Okemah, Oklahoma, on the North Canadian river.

My father was a blacksmith and merchant and used to run an old trading post at Stonewall, Indian Territory, and later was elected County Judge of that county and the Deep Fork district.

I got my first schooling there at Springfield, Indian Territory and there was where I learned to talk the Creek language. The

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[7] Interview (exact copy) with Will R. Robison at Muskogee on February 24, 1937, *Indian Pioneer History*, Vol. 8, pp. 532-40, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society.

[8] See *Appendix A* for sketch of "William Robison" (father of Will R. Robison), in H. F. & E. S. O'Beirne's *The Indian Territory Its Chiefs, Legislators and Leading Men* (St. Louis, 1892).

school building was built by the Indians of hewed oak logs and chinked and daubed. It only had one door and that was in the south end. Our teacher was an old sailor by the name of Ross. I don't know how he ever came to this country. He was just wandering through and they hired him to teach the school. He was the most brilliant and the best educated man I have ever met. He boarded at our house. We only lived a mile from the school but having spent his life on the sea, and not being used to the land he could not go from our home to the school without getting lost. I always had to go with him and show him the way. He fell in love with, and married Susie Walker, a fullblood Creek woman, and they lived there until she died and a short time later he died.

In 1879, when I was only fourteen years old, my father took a contract with the government to carry the mail from Okmulgee to Wetumka, and I was the boy that drove the mail hack. It took me a day and a half to make the trip. At that time there was no town where Wetumka now stands, but just one store and the Post Office about one mile east of where Wetumka now stands. I used a two seated hack and drove a team of ponies. I sometimes hauled passengers and the people all along the route, when they needed anything from town, such as groceries, clothes or anything, they would send by me for them and pay me a little something for my services. Father paid me $10.00 a month so I thought I was well fixed. I drove the mail hack for a year.

It was during that year that the war known as the Green Peach War, was fought. It was just a little rebellion among the Creeks. It came up over the election of a Chief. Sam Checote was running against Chief Isparecher ('Spi-E-Chee) and Checote was elected and of course Isparecher and his followers were rather bitter over his defeat. In those days no one but an officer was allowed to carry a gun and one of Isparecher's men came to Okmulgee with a gun on them and the officer took it away from him. Isparecher soon heard about it and he and his men came to town. I was boarding with a family named Barnett. I heard a gun fire and pretty soon a man came by and told me that Isparecher's men had killed Sam Scott, a marshall. I saddled a horse and rode to Springfield to where we lived. On my way I went by Tom Canard's (father of Rolly Canard) and notified him of what had happened. He went with me to where father lived, about 1½ miles, and we notified my father. He and Tom Canard went on to Chief Checote and told him wnat had happened and that was

when Chief Sam Checote formed his company of soldiers and set out to capture Isparecher.

My father had been a Colonel in the Civil War and Chief Checote appointed him as General. They went over into the Cheyenne country and had quite a skirmish over there. Seven men were killed. (My brother was in that skirmish). The government stepped in and wouldn't let them arrest a man outside the Creek Nation. During this time, Pleasant Porter, who was a delegate to Washington, came home and my father appointed him General. That is where Pleasant Porter got the title of General. Mr. Porter didn't have a horse to ride so I loaned him mine but after Porter was appointed they didn't have another fight and in a short time Isparecher went to Fort Gibson and signed a Peace Treaty.

During this rebellion, it was a hard job for Isparecher's soldiers to get any provisions and the peaches were just getting ripe and they would raid peach orchards and practically live on peaches. That is how it came to be called the Green Peach War.

After I had driven the mail hack for one year I quit that work and went to Eufaula where I attended the Asbury Mission, a boarding school for boys. There were 100 boys in that school. Professor W. N. Martin was superintendent while I was in school at Springfield. Mrs. W. N. Martin (his wife) was teaching at Wetumka and her brother taught at Springfield. She would visit us quite often. I attended Asbury Mission one year and in 1881 when I was 16 years old I went to Fayetteville, Arkansas, to the Military school there. That was before the Frisco railroad was built. I came up to Muskogee on the Katy and rode an apple wagon on to Fayetteville.

Old Preacher Hill was President of the school while I was there. While I was in school at Fayetteville the Frisco railroad was built and one morning in June of 1882 we all marched down to the depot to watch the first passenger train go through. I think it was the hottest day that I ever saw. We had our uniforms on and had to keep our coats buttoned. I boarded with a family named Ellis but when school was out I went and stayed with Professor Hill.

There was a very prominent family at Fayetteville by the name of Reed. He was a member of the Reed and Ferguson Mercantile firm. He had a daughter who graduated while I was there and later came to Muskogee and taught in the schools here for years. The Reeds were very well-to-do people and had an awful

lot of kinfolks, some of whom were pretty bad men. They would come to town, get drunk and shoot up the town. One evening as I was going to my room I saw a bunch of these men come riding by and they shot and killed a man. The first man I ever saw shot down.

I stayed at Fayetteville one year and came back to Springfield where my folks still lived. The next year, 1883, I went to Fort Scott, Kansas, and stayed there two years.

While we lived at Springfield three men camped on the North Canadian river near our place. One of them, they said, was sick. We learned that he had been shot. They claimed to be cattle buyers. They had three fine horses and my father had a two horse wagon. They came up to the house and offered father his choice of the three horses for that wagon. He traded with them, taking a big, fine bay mare. They hitched the other two horses to the wagon, loaded the sick or wounded man in and left. We learned after they were gone that it was Jessie James, Frank James and Cole Younger. It was Cole Younger who was wounded. Pearl, the daughter of Bell Starr and who always went by the name of Pearl Starr, was the daughter of Cole Younger.

Years later, after we had moved to Muskogee, Cole Younger had been captured, sent to the penitentiary and had been pardoned. He came to Muskogee selling a newly invented coal oil burner for furnaces, boilers, etc. He was stopping at the Rockefellow Hotel. He was trying to establish an agency here for his burner and did employ a man by the name of Edmondson as agent but in the meantime I happened to meet him and recognized him. We visited together quite a bit and we talked about the time they traded my father the horse for the wagon, but when people found out that Cole Younger was in town they would gather around him just like they would go to see a circus.

It was 1884 when we moved to Muskogee. My father opened up a livery stable on the north side of Broadway between Second and Third Streets, where the Raymond building now stands. When I came back from Kansas I ran that stable.

Captain Jackson and a man named Brewer were running a stable on Cherokee Street at Broadway and father bought Captain Jackson's interest and he and Mr. Brewer ran that one for several years and finally sold out to R. A. Evans.

Traveling salesmen, we called them drummers then, would

come to the livery stable and hire rigs to drive over the country with their big trunks full of samples of merchandise. I would go with them and we would usually be out from 30 to 60 days. We would go to Okmulgee, Parkinson and on into the Sac and Fox Country and to Shawnee, Wewoka, Wetumka and Eufaula and back to Muskogee, which would take about 60 days if we had good luck. Sometimes it would be dry goods and sometimes drugs, harness and saddles or anything.

The Sondheimers were in the hide business here. His building stood where the Harris building now stands and his dwelling was right back of it. Sometimes Mr. Sondheimer would hire a team and we would make the round. He bought all kinds of hides, furs and pelts. Sometimes he would get as many deer hides as he would cow hides. He also bought lots of pecans.

The first fair came to Muskogee in 1877 [1874]. It was called the International Indian Fair Association. The fair grounds were where Spaulding Park is now. The first President was a man named Foreman.

The fair grounds were all enclosed. The Indians and whites would bring their products here and they would camp within the grounds, but the negroes were not allowed to camp within the grounds. The negroes would camp on a tract of vacant land just outside the fair grounds. This land was owned by Jim Lydle.

I appointed Simpson Bennett, Bud Kell and Bent Cobb as marshals inside the grounds and Bob Marshal, a Creek Indian, as marshal outside the grounds over the negroes and before we had hardly gotten organized John Welch was killed by Charley Smith, a negro. Simp Bennett, Bud Ledbetter and Bud Kell, marshals, arrested him and he was sent to the penitentiary and Colonel Marcum got him a pardon and he came back here and died. A little later Joshua Ross was made President of the fair and I was Secretary.

Horse racing was one of the greatest attractions of the fair. Probably the fastest horses in the United States were brought here to the fairs. We had what we called short horses. They only run ¼ mile races. Gambling was wide open to the citizens.

They always gave a premium to the best lady riders as a drawing card for the crowds. The fair of 1879 brought a lady here who was a cousin to Bob Chandler, (I don't remember her name) who was an awful good rider. My wife was also a good

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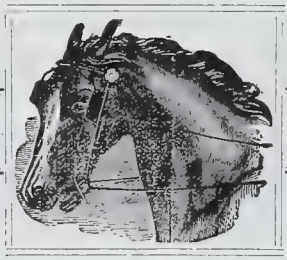

September 25, 26, 27, 28, 29

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$1810.00 ON SPEED RING!

Did you ever see such liberal purses offered at any fair outside the largest cities? You certainly never did.

ALL PRIZES PAID IN CASH SOON AS ANNOUNCED.

Track has been leveled up, grades taken out and new surface built. It is now the best track in the Indian Territory

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MUSKOGEE FAIR ASSOCIATION
Advertisement in *The Vinita Chieftain*, 1898

rider so they matched a race to run the full ¼ x ½ mile. They rode side saddles and wore long riding skirts.

Dr. Fite had a fine horse named Prince. My wife rode him and the other lady had a horse named Red Buck that she rode. Of course there was a lot of money bet on the race and the merchants made up a premium for the winner which was a fine side saddle. Fortunately my wife won. She kept that saddle for a number of years.

People were much more friendly and sociable then than they are now. On the Fourth of July we had a race here. They made up a premium for the winner and charged an entrance fee for each horse entered. There were seven of probably the fastest horses in the country entered.

Little Danger from Fort Smith, a Chestnut Sorrel named Gold Dust, and another chestnut sorrel named Gold Digger and a mare named Brown Lizzy from Rogers, Arkansas, a grey horse named Grey Wolf (which I owned myself) and a sorrel horse owned by Major McCoy, all run. When the gun was fired as a signal for them to go, Little Danger got the breaks and they called them all back and they started again. This time all got an equal start and it was as close a race as I ever saw. Grey Wolf won by 1½ feet making the ¼ mile in 22 seconds, which was just 1 second more than the world's record of ¼ mile races. I then shipped Grey Wolf to Kansas City and St. Louis where he broke the track records. The record he made in Kansas City is still unbroken today.

Later though, there was a man at Webbers Falls owned a black mare named Black Roxey. We matched a race between Grey Wolf and Black Roxey. This was probably the biggest race ever run here. There was about 5,000 people came here to see the race. It came an awful rain the day the race was to be run and to my sorrow the race was put off until the next day, and when the race was run Black Roxey won, but I learned later that they had paid my rider $300 to hold Grey Wolf back. This race attracted more attention than any other race in the Indian Territory. On the following Fourth of July we matched a three cornered race. Black Roxey and a horse owned by a man from St. Louis, named Big Joe. Big Joe and Grey Wolf were to run but for some cause Big Joe disqualified. This left Black Roxey and Grey Wolf again and Black Roxey won. There was a traveling man named Elliotts here from Denison, Texas, and as they were planning a

picnic at Denison he wanted to take the horses there and run them as a drawing card for the picnic. We went down there. I went with Bud Hart a brother to Ed Hart. Black Roxey and Big Joe were running and we made it up that one of us would hold stakes so Bud was holding the stakes and the money began coming in so fast that Bud became confused and made a mistake in change so they tried to rule him out and let a fellow named Cobb of Vinita to hold stakes. There was already $1500 up and I said no Bud Hart would hold stakes or there would be no race, so they run and big Joe won by 30 feet and I won $1050.00. They then matched Black Roxey with Grey Wolf (my horse) and beat me and then poisoned my horse.

The white people were called non-citizens and had to pay so much each month to the Creek government to live here and to do business. A white man was not permitted to own land here. The Creek Council passed a law authorizing anyone that was a citizen of the Creek Nation to fence land. We called it the big pasture. They would build fences for miles each way and to anyone living inside these pastures they had to pay so much each year annuity. The big cattle men would lease these pastures and ship thousands of head of cattle here to pasture.

My father owned Vann's Lake and he fenced a big pasture around it and would rent it to Texas cattlemen. They would pay him so much for the pasture and also pay him to look after the cattle.

I had about one thousand acres of land out where the McKellop Addition is now which I had taken as a claim in 1887. I built a house on it and plowed a furrow around it and no one could come inside that furrow. My old house still stands there . . .

—Will R. Robison

The Fifteenth Annual Indian International Fair At Muskogee

The International Fair at Muskogee had developed into the outstanding event in the Indian Territory by 1892. The printed *Premium List* that year referred to the Fair as the "Indian International Agricultural Society and Fair Association," giving twenty-one pages to lists of items offered prizes in the several departments such as the agricultural exhibits and "Ladies" handwork, and rules for the horse races, a very popular event at the Fair. The list of officers and directors of the Association gives the names

of prominent leaders in the Indian Territory, including chiefs of the Indian nations, U. S. Court judges and officials, ranchers, merchants, lawyers and even some ministers of the Gospel. A number of pages are interesting advertisements of business in Muskogee and in the surrounding country. All this within the covers of the booklet of thirty-two pages makes *Premium List* a rare source reflecting the social and economic life of the Indian Territory in 1892. The pages of this rare booklet devoted to the organization and exhibits of the International Fair (in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society) follow here.

PREMIUM LIST,

CONSTITUTION, ACTS AND RULES

OF THE

FIFTEENTH EXHIBIT

OF THE

INDIAN INTERNATIONAL

Agricultural Society & Fair Association

FOUR DAYS:

TUESDAY, WEDNESDAY, THURSDAY, FRIDAY,

SEPTEMBER 27, 28, 29, 30, 1892,

AT

Muskogee, Ind. Ter.

MUSKOGEE, IND. TER.,
PHOENIX PRINTING COMPANY.
1892.

PREMIUM LIST
Indian International Fair at Muskogee, 1892
Title Page of Booklet, 1892

PREMIUM LIST.

OFFICIAL LIST.

EXECUTIVE OFFICERS.

Joshua Ross, Muskogee, Indian Territory, - - President.
Will Robison, Jr., Muskogee, Indian Territory, - Secretary.
C. W. Turner, Muskogee, Indian Territory, - Treasurer.
P. Porter, Muskogee, Creek Nation, - - Vice-President.
R. B. Ross, Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation, - Vice-President.
E. J. Brown, Seminole Nation, - . - Vice-President.
Ex. Gov. B. C. Burney, Chickasaw Nation, - Vice-President.
Alec Thompson, Choctaw Nation, - - Vice-President.
Ke-o-kuk, Sac and Fox Nation, - - Vice-President.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Major John A. Foreman, First President, El Reno, Oklahoma.
F. B. Severs, ex-President, Muskogee, Indian Territory.
R. L. Owen, former U. S. Agent, and ex-President, Muskogee.
Leo. E. Bennett, U. S. Agent, and ex-President, Muskogee.
P. N. Blackstone, ex-President, Muskogee.

Will Robison, Jr., General Superintendent and Secretary.

DESIGNATION OF OFFICERS.

President of Association will wear a white, the Vice-Presidents a purple, the Secretary and General Superintendent a red, and the Treasurer a green rosette. Department Superintendents will wear a yellow rosette.

STOCKHOLDERS.

Joshua Ross,	Muskogee.	Mrs. Julia Nevins,	Muskogee.
Will Robison,	"	Mrs. Frank Cass,	Vinita.
C. W. Turner,	"	William Stephens,	Coffeyville.
O. P. Brewer,	Webbers Falls.	Leo. E. Bennett,	Muskogee.
R. E. Blackstone,	" "	Mrs. A. E. W. Robertson,	"
P. N. Blackstone,	" "	Charles Foreman,	California.

PREMIUM LIST.

Samuel Cobb,	Afton, I. T.	W. F. Crabtree,	Muskogee.
John O. Cobb,	Muskogee.	John A. Foreman,	El Reno.
J. A. Patterson,	Muskogee,	R. A. Evans,	Muskogee.
A. W. Robb,	"	A. P. McKellop,	"
R. L. Owen,	"	J. E. Turner & Parkinson,	"
F. B. Severs,	"	R. B. Ross,	Tahlequah.
R. A. Leslie,	"	W. D. Ross,	Ft. Gibson.
P. Porter,	"	W. P. Ross,	"
C. W. Garrett,	"	A. J. Chapman,	Muskogee.
Wm. Heffernan,	"	N. B. Childers,	Wagoner.
D. W. Busheyhead,	Tahlequah.	D. N. McIntosh,	Eufaula.
Rev. W. A. Duncan,	"	Thomas French,	Ft. Gibson.
J. M. Smith,	"	Dick Sutherlin,	"
E. C. Boudinot,	"	Theo. Lacy,	California.
Wm. Robison, Sr.,	Wetumpka.	T. F. Meagher,	Muskogee.
Z. T. Walrond,	Muskogee.	Mrs. Jno. Elliott,	Kansas.
D. M. Hodge,	Tula.	E. Laupheimer,	Sedalia, Mo.
T. J. Adams,	Okmulgee.	L. L. Wood,	Tishomingo.
N. B. Moore,	"	B. C. Burney,	"
John R. Moore,	"	Mrs. D. N. Robb,	"
W. E. Gentry,	Checotah.	Mrs. M. C. Vann,	Ft. Gibson.
Allen Wright,	Atoka.	F. A. Strokey,	Colorado.
Frank Vore,	Webbers Falls.	S. B. Callahan,	Muskogee.
Rev. T. F. Brewer,	Harrell Inst.	Taylor Chissoe,	"
J. P. Davidson,	Muskogee.		

COMMITTEES.

COMMITTEE ON FREIGHT AND TRANSPORTATION.

Major John Adams, C. W. Turner, Leo. E. Bennett,
G. W. Williams, P. N. Blackstone.

COMMITTEE ON MUSIC.

J. Ross, John O. Cobb, J. S. O'Brian.

COMMITTEE ON RECEPTION.

U. S. Agent, Leo. E. Bennett, C. L. Jackson,
Gen. P. Porter, W. F. Crabtree,
Col. R. L. Owen, P. J. Byrne,
P. N. Blackstone, M. L. Bragdon, Clerk of Court,
Rev. Theo. F. Brewer, Rev. M. L. Butler,
A. P. McKellop, Hon. Z. T. Walrond,

PREMIUM LIST.

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A. Z. English,
G. T. Ralls,
Richard Martin,
Dr. Charles Harris,
A. A. Engart,
Dr. Fite,
Dr. M. F. Williams,
Dr. James O. Callahan,
Wm. F. Seaver, Esq.,
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John Watkins,
Commissioner Nelson,
Ross Shackelford,
Marshal T. B. Needles,
W. B. Dawes,
Judge James Shackelford,
Dr. R. W. Hill,
Charley Moore,
W. H. McBride,

RULES AND REGULATIONS.

GENERAL ARRANGEMENTS.

1. The Fair will be open on Tuesday, Sept. 27th.

2. The gates will be open at 9 o'clock a. m. of each day, and at that time every officer is required to be at his post.

3. All goods or machinery for exhibition shipped in care of the Secretary will receive strict attention.

4. No person whatever, except the Judges, will be allowed on the Judges' stand during any race or trot, and not less than two timers shall be appointed by the Judges, who shall occupy a suitable position by themselves.

5. No vinous or spirituous liquors will be allowed on the ground, and anyone found in possession of the same will be unceremoniously ejected. Liquors found in booths will subject the booths to be closed, and forfeited to the Association.

6. Police officers will be known by a blue badge, and they

will preserve order in the grounds. All others whether officers or not are forbidden to wear arms within the enclosure. Parties refusing to obey this rule will be excluded from the ground.

7. Programmes for the several days of the Fair will be promulgated at the proper time and place.

ENTRIES.

1. An entry fee will be charged in every department, which will be 10 per cent. on the whole amount of premiums, which must be invariably paid at the time of entry.

2. All entries for speeds must be made on or before 10 o'clock a. m. of the day each race or trot is to take place.

3. Entries in any department or class can be made at any time before the Exposition by application to the Secretary, either personally or by letter, at his office, and on the Fair Grounds up to 12 o'clock, except in cases of live stock to be exhibited in the arena, which should be entered before 10 a. m. on the day of exhibition.

4. Articles which are the result of mechanical or artistic skill must be entered by the artist, manufacturer, contriver or agent.

5. Articles which are the product of the soil must be entered by the producer or his agent.

6. Every animal must be entered for competion by the owner or agent.

7. No article shall be entered in more than one department.

8. Parties exhibiting articles or animals for competition or otherwise, will be allowed to place show or sign cards over their stands, stalls or pens, and every facility will be granted by the Association to exhibitors for the purpose of advertising the articles and animals on exhibition.

9. No person or animal that has been awarded a premium at any of the previous Fairs of the Association will be awarded a premium in the same sub-division or class, unless it be for additional merit.

PREMIUM LIST.

ADMISSION FEES.

Single ticket, good for one admission	$ 25
One horse and rider (two tickets)	50
One horse, vehicle and driver (two tickets)	50
Two horses, vehicle and driver (two tickets)	50
For each person, other than driver, in vehicle (one ticket)	25

Family tickets good during the Fair, $3, which will admit the parents and all the members of the family under twenty-one years. Anyone transferring tickets so as to take advantage of the rules of the Fair, will be publicly exposed by the Marshal.

Have your change ready and you will expedite matters at the Treasurer's office.

There will be no complimentary or "dead-head" tickets to this Fair. Every officer and director as well as visitor will be required to pay the admission fee.

STALLS AND PENS.

1. Stalls for horses and cattle, and pens for sheep and hogs, will be furnished during the Fair to such as are exhibited or entered for the speed ring at $3 for box-stalls and $2 for common stalls, and 50 cents for hog and sheep pens.

2. No stalls or pens considered engaged or rented until the money is paid.

3. They can be secured by letter or personal application to the Secretary. Money must accompany all such applications.

4. The stalls and pens will be numbered and assigned in regular rotation by the Superintendent.

PREMIUMS.

Premiums will be paid Friday at 4 o'clock. All such payments will be made by the Treasurer of the Association on the proper certificates from the Secretary countersigned by the President. Premiums not claimed or called for in thirty days will be considered forfeited, and revert to the general fund of the Association.

PREMIUM LIST.

RULES APPLICABLE TO ANIMALS.

1. No animal will be allowed to run at large upon the ground or hitched to a tree. No animal or vehicle of any kind will be allowed on the part of the ground set aside for visitors on foot, except such as are under control or the General Superintendent.

2. Every article or animal upon the ground, shall, during the Fair, be under the control of the General Superintendent and while every precaution will be taken for the safe-keeping of the same, the Association will in no case be responsible for any loss or damage that may occur.

3. Unsound animals will not be awarded a premium, but may enter in speed rings for purses.

4. In judging of blooded stock, regard will be had to the purity of the blood established by pedigree, size, form, actions and general characteristics of the various breeds, making proper allowance for age, feeding and other circumstances.

5. Committees are particularly requested not to give encouragement to over-fed animals in the breeding classes.

6. During the exhibition in the arena, no person will be allowed inside the ring, except awarding committees on duty and members of the Board of Directors, unless on invitation of the General Superintendent.

7. All committees on thoroughbreds shall have access to the pedigree furnished to the Secretary.

8. Exhibition in the amphitheater to commence precisely at 10 o'clock a. m. each day, and continue in the order laid down.

REFRESHMENTS.

1. All persons occupying booths and furnishments are required to lay in their supplies before 8 o'clock a. m. After that time they will be charged an admission fee at the gate.

2. At precisely 8 o'clock a. m. the ground will be cleared of all wagons and persons not entitled to remain. *These rules will be strictly adhered to.*

3. All persons occupying booths are hereby warned not to

allow any card-playing in their booths, as NO GAMBLING OF WHATEVER SPECIES WILL BE ALLOWED on the ground and the General Superintendent is hereby empowered and instructed to arrest and remove all persons practicing games.

RULES FOR THE ARNEA.

1. Superintendent of departments are ex-officio chairmen of their respective committees, but shall not be entitled to a vote.

2. All votes shall be by ballot. The animal receiving a majority of votes cast shall be entitled to a premium.

3. Each premium shall be voted for separately. In case of a tie vote, another committeeman shall be called in and so on until a decision is reached. No committeeman shall be excused from voting.

4. Awarding committees are required to pass not only upon the merits of the animals in competition, but also on their age, soundness, class, etc.

5. When an animal is shown in a class in which he is not entitled to enter, the committees shall so declare, and the Superintendent shall dismiss the animal from the ring, stating the reason therefor.

6. The age of horses shall be computed from the first day of January of the year in which they were foaled, and any misrepresentation will forfeit the premium.

AWARDING COMMITTEES.

1. The awarding committees are required to report at the Secretary's office as soon as they arrive upon the grounds.

2. No person shall act as judge in any class in which he is an exhibitor.

3. No animal or article deemed unworthy shall under any circumstances be awarded a premium. The practice of whatever appears carrying away the premium when there is no competitor, without regard to merit, will not be allowed. No competition, no premium.

4. Awarding committees shall not be less than three persons,

and will only award premiums to animals and articles regularly entered in their respective classes, but they are requested to examine all animals or articles entered in the miscellaneous classes and recommend those deemed meritorious of mention in their report.

5. Should any doubt arise as to the regularity of entry or other important matter which the committee feel incompetent to decide, they will at once report the same to the Secretary.

6. Premiums should in all cases be awarded to the animal or article, and not to the owner. The owner or exhibitor should be lost sight of and all entries stand upon their merits alone.

7. Any article on exhibition that may be sold cannot be removed from the grouud until the close of the Fair.

8. The Association reserves the right of absolute control of its time track and the races made thereon, and to punish, as may be deemed proper, any and all misbehavior of all owners, riders or drivers of competing animals brought to notice. NO RACE SHALL TAKE PLACE ON THE TRACK, EXCEPT SUCH AS HAVE BEEN AND MAY BE PROVIDED FOR BY THE ASSOCIATION.

9. Awarding committees should give the Class Superintendents their decision in each case, and the Superintendent should return the same in writing to the Secretary. This is necessary to prevent confusion and error in awarding premiums.

10. Members of awarding committees shall not in any case consult until after the award is made, and as appeals from awards of committees are not allowed, the committees will see the need of great care in rendering their decisions.

11. No article or animal for exhibition shall be taken from the ground until the close of the last day of the Fair, except by permission in writing, first obtained of the Secretary of the Association.

12. All protests must be made in writing, and filed with the Secretary within one day after the award shall have been made, and before the close of the Fair, accompanied by the affidavit of the protestant, together with the names of the witnesses. The Sec-

retary shall report all protests to the President immediately, who shall take such steps as he may deem necessary to have the award examined into and all mistakes or mis-awards rectified. [No protests will be considered unless made upon the ground of bias or incompetency of the judges making the award.] Until the protest shall have been decided, the premium in such case shall be withheld.

13. The committee on premium list, together with the President, shall have the power to award a premium upon any exhibit not embraced in the premium list, provided the judges of the class in which such exhibit is entered recommend such action.

DUTIES OF SUPERINTENDENTS.

The duty of Class Superintendents is to receive all articles or animals for exhicition in his department, to assign place or space for the exhibit, to see that the same is entered and receipt given therefor, and to see that the judges in their department attend to their duties.

Where a Class Superintendent is an exhibitor in his class, the General Superintendent shall select judges for his class.

The names of Class Superintendents will be published in the Territory papers in the general programme.

PREMIUM LIST.

RACING PROGRAMME.

WM. BREWER ..... SUPERINTENDENT.

TUESDAY, SEPT. 27TH.

No. 1, running, two-year-olds, half mile, purse ..... $ 75 00
Divided, $50.00, $15.00, $10.00.

No. 2, trotting and pacing, two-year-olds, purse 75 00
Divided, $50.00, $15.00, $10.00.

No. 3, ox race, once around three-fourth mile track, purse 5 00

No. 3 1-2, one-half mile dash, free to all, purse 75 00
Divided, $50.00, $15.00, $10.00.

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 28.

No. 4, running, one-half mile and repeat, purse $100 00
Divided, $60.00, $30.00, $10.00.

PREMIUM LIST.

No. 5, three-fourths mile running, three-year-olds, purse.... 100 00
Divided, $60.00, $30.00, $10.00.
No. 6, free-for-all trotting and pacing, purse..... 100 00
Divided, $60.00, $30.00, $10.00.

THURSDAY, SEPT. 29TH.

No. 7, three-eighth mile, purse..... $100 00
Divided, $60.00, $30.00, $10.00.
No. 8, 3:00 trotting and pacing, purse..... 100 00
Divided, $60.00, $30.00, $10.00.
No. 9, one-mile running, all ages, purse..... 100 00
Divided, $60.00, $30.00, $10.00.

FRIDAY, SEPT. 30TH.

No. 10, running, novelty, one mile, purse..... $125 00
One-fourth, $15.00; one-half, $25.00; three-fourths, $35.00; one mile, $50.00.

Entrance fee in all races 10 per cent. of purse.

Running races to be under American Running Rules. Trotting and pacing races to be under the American Trotting Association Rules.

Nominations in running races must be made and entrance paid before 6 o'clock p. m., day previous to race.

All Trotting and pacing entries close September 20th at 6 o'clock p. m.

No. 2, No. 4 and No. 8, mile heats, two best in three.

No. 6, mile heats, three best in five.

All races must have not less than three entries and two to start. Any horse distancing the field will be entitled to first money only.

Races will commence at 2 o'clock p. m. promptly. All concerned are warned that delay will not be tolerated and if not on hand will go without the delinquents.

CATTLE DEPARTMENT.

W. E. GENTRY..... SUPERINTENDENT.

Five or more entries; entrance fee 10 per cent.

Best bull, any age or breed..... $10 00
Second best bull, any age or breed..... 5 00

PREMIUM LIST.

HOTEL ADAMS,

MUSKOGEE, IND. TER.

JOHN ADAMS, Manager.

ALL M. K. & T. TRAINS STOP FOR MEALS.

Lighted with Gas, Heated with Steam, Electric Enunciator, Barber Shop, Bath and Laundry in the House.

——EVERYTHING ENTIRELY NEW.——

J. A. BERRY AND J. H. THORPE, CLERKS.

PREMIUM LIST.

Best cow, any age or breed	10 00
Best two-year-old bull	10 00
Best two-year-old heifer	10 00
Best cow with calf	10 00
Best yearling bull	5 00
Best yearling heifer	5 00
Best yoke of oxen	10 00
Heaviest cow, any age or breed	10 00

SHEEP DEPARTMENT.

SIM GARLAND ..... SUPERINTENDENT.

Best ram, any age or breed	$5 00
Best ewe, any age or breed	5 00
Best pair kids, any breed	5 00
Best Angora goat	5 00

SWINE DEPARTMENT.

GEORGE WILLIAMS ..... SUPERINTENDENT.

Five or more entries.

Best boar, any breed	$5 00
Best sow, any breed	5 00
Best Berkshire boar	5 00
Best Berkshire sow	5 00
Best Poland China boar	5 00
Best Poland China sow	5 00
Best Chester white boar	5 00
Best Chester white sow	5 00
Best lot of swine including boar, sow and six or more pigs	5 00

POULTRY DEPARTMENT.

ED. ROBIN ..... SUPERINTENDENT.

Best pair Plymouth Rocks	$1 00
Best pair Light Brahmas	1 00
Best pair Hamburgs	1 00
Best pair Black Spanish	1 00
Best pair Partridge Cochins	1 00

PREMIUM LIST.

Best Pair White Leghorns	1 00
Best pair White Bantams	1 00
Best pair Red Bantams	1 00
Best pair Blue Games	1 00
Best pair Ruen Ducks	1 00
Best pair white China Geese	1 00
Best pair Turkeys, white	1 00
Best pair Bronze Turkeys	1 00
Best pair wild Turkeys	1 00
Best pair Pigeon Turkeys	1 00
Best pair Peafowls	2 00

HORSE, MULE AND JACK DEPARTMEMT.

BAYOU JIM LOWRY ..... SUPERINTENDENT.

Five or more entries; 10 per cent. entrance fee.

Best roadster stallion, saddle or harness	$10 00	2nd, Diploma
Best Jack, any age or breed	10 00	2nd, Diploma
Smallest Indian pony, 2 years old or over	5 00	2nd, Diploma
Best year old colt in harness		$10 00
Best mare with three or more of her get		10 00
Best mare and best colt		5 00
Best two-year-old stallion, any breed		5 00
Best sucking colt		5 00
Best span of mules—draft		5 00
Best saddle pony, thirteen hands or under		5 00
Best saddle horse, fox trot or running walk		5 00
Best two-year-old draft		5 00
Best pair draft horses		5 00
Best pair carriage horses		5 00

INDIAN TERRITORY MANUFACTURES.

J. M. SMITH ..... SUPERINTENDENT.

Four or more entries.

Best Man's Saddle, Diploma and Cash	$5 00
Best Woman's Saddle, Diploma and Cash	5 00
Best Buggy Harness, Diploma and Cash	5 00

PREMIUM LIST.

Best pair of Harness, Diploma and Cash	5 00
Best pair of Boots, Diploma and Cash	5 00
Best Six Brooms, Diploma and Cash	3 00
Best Table, Diploma and Cash	2 00
Best Farm Wagon, Diploma and Cash	5 00
Best Spring Wagon, Diploma and Cash	5 00
Best Farming Plow, Diploma and Cash	5 00
Best Harrow, Diploma and Cash	5 00
Best Six Wooden Sofka Spoons	2 00
Best Riddle and Fanner	1 00
Best Cane Woven Basket	1 00
Best Sofka Pots, home made, 1 gallon or over	1 00
Best Sofka Pots, under 1 gallon	1 00
Best Cotton Basket	1 00

FREE TO ALL.

Best Harrow	Diploma
Best Plow	Diploma
Best Cotton Press	Diploma
Best Cotton Gin	Diploma
Best Hay Press	Diploma
Best Corn Planter	Diploma
Bestt Cotton Planter	Diploma
Best Mower and Reaper combined	Diploma

AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT.

W. H. ROLLINS and C. M. MURPHY ..... SUPERINTENDENTS.

Five or more entries required for competition, entry fee, 10 per cent. premium—Open for entries until 12 o'clock, September 27, 1892.

Best bushel White Corn, in ears (100)	$2 00	2nd,	$1 00
Best bushel Yellow Corn, in ears (100)	2 00	"	1 00
Best bushel Upland Corn, in ears (100)	2 00	"	1 00
Best bushel Hominy Flint Corn, in ears (100)	2 00	"	1 00
Best bushel Pop Corn, in ears (100)	2 00	"	1 00
Best bundle of Broom Corn	1 00	"	1 00
Best bushel of Wheat	2 00	"	1 00

PREMIUM LIST.

Best bushel of Oats	1 00		
Best bushel of Rye	1 00		
Best bushel of Irish Potatoes, Early Rose or Early Ohio	2 00	2nd,	1 00
Best bushel of Irish Potatoes, Peach blews	2 00	"	1 00
Best bushel Indian Spanish Sweet Potatoes	2 00	"	1 00
Best bushel Red Yams	2 00	"	1 00
Best bushel White Yams	2 00	"	1 00
Best bushel Yellow Yams	2 00	"	1 00
Best bushel Red Onions	2 00	"	1 00
Best bushel White Onions	2 00	"	1 00
Best bushel Yellow Onions	2 00	"	1 00
Best bushel White Beans	1 00		
Best bushel Stock Beans	1 00		
Best bushel Stock Peas	1 00		
Best peck Castor Beans	1 00		
Best peck Parsnips	1 00		
Best peck Tomatoes	1 00		
Best bushel Turnips	1 00		
Best two largest Pumpkins	1 00		
Best 50 lbs. of Flour	Diploma		
Best 50 lbs. Meal	Diploma		
" gallon Parched Corn Meal	$1 00		
" gallon Pounded Hominy Grits	1 00		
" gallon Sorghum, with receipt	1 00		
" six stalks with ears of Corn	1 00		
" six Cabbage	1 00		
" six Squashes	1 00		
" six Egg plants	1 00		
" three pounds of Tobacco in hand	1 00		
" bushel of ground Peas	1 00		
" six Cotton stalks with boles	1 00		
" and largest display of Grain, Fruit and Vegetables	5 00		
" display of Apples, three or more varieties	5 00		
" display of Peaches, three or more varieties	5 00		
" display of Pears, three or more varieties	5 00		
" display of Grapes	5 00		

PREMIUM LIST.

Best bale of Cotton (400 or 500 lbs.) from bottom land, five or more entries $25 00
Best bale of Cotton (400 or 500 lbs.) from upland, five or more entries $25 00

LADIES' DEPARTMENT.

Best Apron $1 00
Best Ladies' Underwear, three pieces 1 50
Best dozen Button Holes 50
Best Stocking Darning 1 00
Best patching 1 00
Second best patching 1 00
Best Mended Garment, darning on cloth 1 00
Second best Mended Garment, darning on cloth 50
Best Patchwork Quilt 2 00
Second best Patchwork Quilt 1 00
Best Silk Quilt 2 00
Second best Silk Quilt 1 00
Best Woolen Quilt 2 00
Second best Woolen Quilt 1 00
Best Machine-made Lady's Dress 2 00
Second best Machine-made Lady's Dress 1 00
Best Machine-made Child's Dress 2 00
Second best Machine-made Child's Dress 1 00
Best set Underwear, three pieces 1 00
Best set Pillow Shams 1 50
Second best set Pillow Shams 1 00

KNITTING.

Best pair Stockings $1 00
Best pair Socks 1 00
Best pair Mittens 1 00
Best Infant's Shirt 1 00
Best Infant's Socks 50
Best Ladies' Jacket 1 00
Best Edge 50

CROCHET.

Best Matched Edge and Insertion, one and a half yards $1 00

PREMIUM LIST.

Best Edge, one and a half yards	50
Best Lady's Cape	50
Best Infant's Sacque	50
Best Infant's Socks	50
Best Afghan	1 00
Best Infant's Carriage Blanket	1 00
Best Child's Dress, trimmed with crochet	1 00
Best set Toilet Mats	1 00
Best Tidy	50

EMBROIDERY.

Best Table Scarf	$1 00
Second best Table Scarf	50
Best Piano Scarf	2 00
Second best Piano Scarf	1 00
Best Sofa Cushion	1 00
Best Arrasene Embroidery	1 00
Second best Arrasene Embroidery	50
Best Outline Work on Linen	1 00
Second best Outline Work on Linen	50
Best Drawn Work on Linen	1 00
Best Embroidery on Linen with Floss	1 00
Second best Embroidery on Linen with Floss	50
Best Embroidery on Flannel with Floss	1 00
Second best Embroidery on Flannel with Floss	50
Largest and best Collection of Needlework by one exhibitor	3 00
Second largest and best Collection of Needlework by one exhibitor	2 00

COOKING.

Best Bread, hop yeast	$2 00
Second Best Bread, hop yeast	1 00
Best Bread, salt rising	2 00
Second Best Bread, salt rising	1 00
Best Biscuit	1 00
Second best Biscuit	50
Best Corn Bread	1 00

PREMIUM LIST.

Second best Corn Bread	50
Best Sofka or Conahana	1 00
Second best Sofka and Conahana	50
Best Parched Corn Flour	1 00
Best Corn Bread from pounded Flour	1 00
Best Blue Dumplings	1 00
Best Fruit Cake	1 00
Best Sponge Cake	1 00
Best White Cake	1 00
Best Pound Cake	1 00
Best Jelly Cake	1 00
Best Cocoanut Cake	1 00
Best Chocolate Cake	1 00
Best Ginger Bread	1 00
Best Cookies	1 00
Best Doughnuts	1 00
Best Collection of Cake and Bread by one exhibitor	3 00
Second best Collection of Cake and Bread by one exhibitor	2 00
Best 3 pounds of Butter	1 00
Second Best 3 pounds of Butter	50

CANNED FRUIT.

Best Strawberries	$1 00	Best Raspberries	$1 00
" Blackberries	1 00	" Whortleberries	1 00
" Apples	1 00	" Crab Apples	1 00
" Peaches	1 00	" Pears	1 00
" Plums	1 00	" Grapes	1 00
" Tomatoes	1 00		

JELLY.

Best Strawberry	$1 00	Best Raspberry	$1 00
" Blackberry	1 00	" Apple	1 00
' Crab Apple	1 00	" Peach	1 00
" Pear	1 00	" Plum	1 00
" Grape	1 00		

PRESERVES AND JAMS.

Best Strawberry	$1 00	Best Raspberry	$1 00

PREMIUM LIST.

Best Blackberry	1 00	Best Apple	1 00
" Crab Apple	1 00	" Peach	1 00
" Pear	1 00	" Plum	1 00
" Grape	1 00	" Watermelon	1 00
" Tomato	1 00		

PICKLES.

Best Cucumbers	$1 00	Best Cabbage	$1 00
" Tomatoes	1 00	" Martinyas	1 00
" Chow Chow	1 00	" Picalilly	1 00
" Mixed Pickles	1 00		

SWEET PICKLES.

Best Peaches	$ 1 00	Best Pears	$1 00
Best Apples	1 00	Best Crab Apples	1 00
Best display of Jellies	2 00	Best display of Preserves	2 00
Best display of Pickles	2 00	Best display Canned Fruit	2 00
Best display of all above	5 00	Best display House Plants	3 00
Second Best display House Plants			2 00

ART.

Best Painting in Oil, Landscape	1 00
Second Best Painting in Oil, Landscape	1 00
Best Painting in Oil, Animals	1 00
Best Painting in Oil, Flowers	1 00
Second best Painting in Oil, Flowers	1 00
Best Painting in Oil, Fruit	1 00
Second best Painting in Oil, Fruit	1 00
Best Crayon	1 00
Second best Crayon	1 00
Best Pastel	1 00
Second best Pastel	1 00
Best Water Color	1 00
Second best Water Color	1 00

INDIAN WORK.

Best dressed Antelope skin	1 00
Best dressed Buffalo robe	2 00
Best dressed Deer skin	1 00

PREMIUM LIST.

Best dressed Beaver skin, with fur on 1 00
Best dressed skin of any young animal, cased, with fur or hair on, for a tobacco pouch 1 00
Best beaded Moccasins 1 00
Best silk embroidered Moccasins 1 00
" silk embroidered Hunting Gown, buckskin . . 3 00
" beaded Hunting Gown, buckskin 2 00
" beaded Gloves, buckskin 1 00
" beaded Vest, buckskin or cloth 2 00
" beaded Purse, buckskin 1 00
" beaded Tobacco Pouch, buckskin or cloth . . 2 00
" Indian Bow, Quiver and forty Arrows complete . 3 00
" Bow . . . $1 00 Best Quiver . . 2 00
" Shield . . . 1 00 " Lariat . . 1 00
" Quirt . . . 50 " Baby Cradle . 2 00
" beaded Belt . . 1 00 " Blanket . . 1 00
" beaded Blanket . 1 00 " Matt, in colors . 1 00
" Pipe . . . 1 00 " Hatchet . . 1 00
" hunting shirt Pattern 3 00 " pair Ball Sticks 1 00

Finger work to compete with finger work, and machine work with machine work. We want you to come and bring your work that we may see it, and that you may see the work of others.

MISCELLANEOUS.

PLEASANT PORTER . . . . . SUPERINTENDENT.

Three or more entries.

Besl display by merchant on the ground . . Diploma
" display by merchant in Exhibition hall dry goods and notions . . . . . Diploma
Best display in Ladies' hats and other Millinery goods Diploma
" display in hats, boots and shoes . . . Diploma
" display in queensware . . . . . Diploma
" display in books and stationary . . . Diploma
" display in hardware . . . . . Diploma
" display in saddlery . . . . . Diploma
" display in tinware . . . . . Diploma
" display in wall paper . . . . . Diploma

PREMIUM LIST.

Best display in clothing and gents' furnishing goods . Diploma
" Best display of bread and cakes, by baker . . Diploma
" display of confectionery, district manufacturer . . 2 00
" display of tanned leather, district manufacturer . 2 00
" five pounds of honey in comb 1 00
" gallon of honey, strained 1 00
" display of bees 2 00
" display of Apiarian implements . . . . Diploma
" essay on method of wheat cultivation, adapted to this country 3 00
" essay on corn cultivation 2 00

RIDING.

Best White woman rider . . . $10 00 and Diploma
" Indian woman rider . . . 10 00 and Diploma
Five or more entries each class.
Best Colored woman rider, previous premium winners excluded, five or more entries 10 00

BICYCLE RACE.

Ten per cent entrance fee. Five or more to enter.
Bicycle race, First, $5.00; Second, $3.00; Third, $2.00.

Appendix A

WILLIAM ROBISON
FATHER OF WILL R. ROBISON

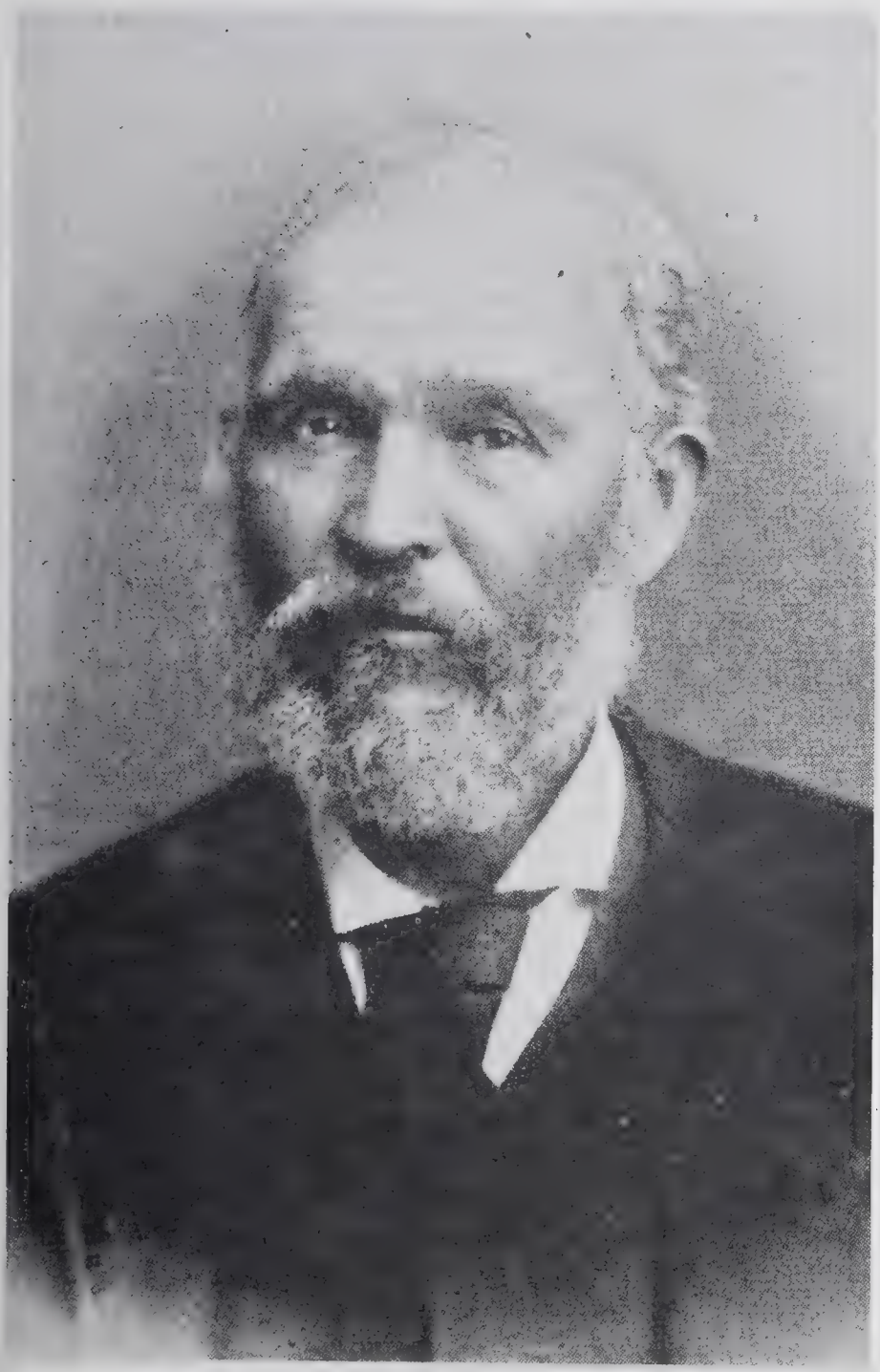
Born, Feb. 8, 1833, near Muskogee, Creek Nation, the eldest son of Dr. Alexander Robison and Elizabeth Reed. Dr. Reed (her father) was a white man from Columbus, Ga., and government physician by appointment for the Creeks during their emigration West. He married in 1832, (Elizabeth) the daughter of a United States citizen known by the name of Long Reed, who married a full-blood Creek of the Thlopthlocco or Deer clan.

The subject of our sketch went to a neighborhood school near the mouth of Little River at the age of nine or ten years, and at about fifteen went to Shawnee Mission, two and a half miles from Westport, Mo., where he remained one year, moving to Asberry (Asbury) Mission, when, after one session he left for Alabama, sojourning two years at the Warrior Stand Academy. William's father, being a practical man, induced his son to learn the blacksmith's trade, which he did, developing more than two years to its accomplishment. But on returning home, young Robison found that he could make a living much easier than with an anvil, and so became a clerk for G. F. McClish, a Chickasaw, who had a store at the mouth of Little River. About this time, 1856, he married Miss Adeline McClish, oldest daughter of Judge Jas. McClish, of Tishomingo, and first judge of that nation after the completion of the Chickasaw constitution. By this marriage they had six children, five of whom are still living, viz.: Josephine, born December, 1856; Alina R., born 1857; George F., born 1861; William R., born 1864, and Amos R., born 1870.

When the war broke out Mr. Robison joined the Confederate service under Col. John Jumper—Seminole Battalion. In this service he was elected first lieutenant. At the first re-organization he was elected captain, and when they re-organized into a regiment, Mr. Robison was made Lieutenant-colonel, which post he maintained with honor until the surrender.

After the war he opened a mercantile business at the mouth of Caddo Creek, after which he moved his business to the Creek Nation, and was elected district judge of Deep Fork, (District) serving a term of two years, when he was elected member of the House of Warriors, and afterward school superintendent. After serving one year in this capacity, he became interpreter to the House of Kings for four years, and afterwards member of that body, which office he has held for twelve years. In 1891, he was appointed superintendent of Wetumka National Labor School, which institute he is now in charge of. Nov. 1, 1872, he married Mrs. Cherokee Barnett, widow of Washington Barnett, brother to Timothy Barnett, national treasurer. By this marriage he had two boys, Ellis Edwin, born July, 1873, and Robert Clem, born October, 1874. During the Isparecher rebellion, Colonel Robison was appointed by Samuel Checotah as commander of the national forces, with headquarters at Okmulgee. The first fight took place at Rock Fork Creek, near Springfield, Col. Robison having seven of his men killed, they being taken by surprise when in camp.

The Colonel, with one thousand men followed Isparecher for forty miles, until overtaken by Agent Tuft, who requested Col. Robison to return to Okmulgee, that he would endeavor to make peace with the disaffected parties, which was afterwards accomplished. Col. Robison, however, had to move from his home place, as it was in the enemy's settlement; so he opened a livery stable in Muskogee and continued the same for four years, when he sold out and moved to his present home on Van's Lake, between the Arkansas and Verdigris. The subject of our sketch has 150 head of cattle, 25 horses, and 200 acres under the fence, 150 of which is in cultivation, with a good house, garden and orchard. He has also a fine residence and other



(From O'Beirne's The Indian Territory)

WILLIAM ROBISON

property in Muskogee. Col. Robison is 6 feet 2 inches high, and weighs 150 pounds. He is of good appearance and good address—a man of wide knowledge and sound judgment. No man in the nation is more widely and favorably known, and he has a host of friends among all races and color. Col. Robison has nine children living.

Appendix B

RESOLUTION

—OF THE—

GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE INDIAN TERRITORY, AT OKMULGEE, MAY 7TH, 1875.

Resolved, By the General Council of the Indian Territory, That we approve the foundation of the Indian International Fair, reported by the Secretary, as being a benefit to the agricultural, mechanical and stock growing interests of the Indian Nations, and that the same be continued as now organized, and located at Muskogee. And we will use our influence, and recommend to our Nations and Tribes to encourage mechanics, farmers and stock-raisers to be represented at the said International Fair on the 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th days of September, A. D. 1875.

And we further ask the Secretary of the Indian International Fair to make his annual report to the General Council.

G. W. GRAYSON,
Secretary of General Council.

(APPROVED:)
ENOCH HOAG,
Supt. of Indian Affairs and Pres. of Gen. Council.

The Directors met July 14th, 1875, fixed premiums, passed resolution to open stock book, and made the price of a voting share (25.00) twenty-five dollars.

JOHN A. FOREMAN, President
JOSHUA ROSS, Secretary
N. B. MOORE, Treasurer

THE CHICKASAW NATION ON THE EVE OF THE CIVIL WAR

*By Stephen Steacy**

On a clear, hot July morning in 1861, there was greater than usual activity at Bloomfield Academy. It was the day of public examination, held every year to display the progress made by the girls at the institution. It was always an impressive occasion, with speeches by local dignitaries and the superintendent of education of the Chickasaw Nation. As usual, the families of the girls would be in attendance, beaming with pride at the accomplishments of their daughters. It was often a rather tearful ceremony, as graduations sometimes are, but this year the event held more than the normal amount of pathos. As Reverend J. H. Carr, the superintendent of Bloomfield Academy knew, this examination would be the last for many years. The United States was already torn by civil war and now the conflict seemed certain to reach the Indian nations of Indian Territory. Fearing for the safety of their children, most of the parents were planning to withdraw their daughters, forcing the Mission Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South to close the school. Who could know when, if ever, the school might be reopened? It was sad, Reverend Carr thought, that all the good work done here would have to end this way. Certainly much good work had been done here in the seven years since the school's founding. Reflecting upon his life in the Chickasaw Nation, Reverend Carr recalled the fine progress the Chickasaws had made over the years both in education and government. He firmly believed that education had uplifted every facet of the everyday life of the Chickasaws. He also believed that such was the fiber of these people that whatever might befall them, they would rebuild and begin anew. He was startled from his reverie by a sudden flurry of activity behind him; the ceremonies were about to begin.

This brief glimpse gives a view of one facet of Chickasaw life, that of education, on the eve of the Civil War. There were other aspects as well, including the social structure, politics, and the economy. All of these make up the development of the Chickasaw Nation for the period under consideration.

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* The author is a former graduate student of Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Professor of History and Civil War era specialist at Oklahoma State University. This article was written in Dr. Fischer's research seminar.

Social Structure

By the time the Chickasaws left their ancestral homes in Mississippi and came to Indian Territory they had, in large measure, adopted the society and many of the habits of the white man. They had dispensed with their hereditary king in 1838, following the removal. This king or *Minko* had no real powers. A council of chiefs would override any objections he might have so his powers were very much circumscribed. Thus, the Chickasaws embraced the white man's form of government. Society itself was patterned after white models. [1]

Three different kinds of associations existed in Chickasaw society. These were: (1) a dual division, (2) totemic subdivisions or clans, and (3) large numbers of cantonal or local groups, usually bearing names indicative of their locality. The two main groups, called the Panther group and the Spanish group, were subdivided into clans bearing the names of animals. Among the various clans were various local divisions. There was a certain hierarchy in the clan configuration which was adhered to whenever camp was made or a meeting held. The Chickasaw camp was formed in a square which was divided in half with each main group taking a side. The clans of the group were then arranged with the highest ranked clan at the top of the square. [2]

There were fifteen clans or *iksas* in the Chickasaw tribe. These clans were: Minko (chief clan), Spanish, Raccoon, Panther, Wildcat, Fish, Deer, Bird, Skunk, Squirrel, Alligator, Wolf, Blackbird, Fox or Red Fox, and Haloba (meaning either eagle or buffalo, the translation being uncertain). These clans were exogamous, meaning that a man or woman usually married outside his or her clan. The two large divisions, the Panther and Spanish groups, were endogamous with members of these divisions marrying members of the same group. [3] This somewhat elaborate structure notwithstanding, clans were only important in intertribal affairs to establish protocol. In everyday life, the actions of the many local groups had a much greater influence on each individual. [4]

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[1] John R. Swanton, "Social and Religious Beliefs and Usages of the Chickasaw Indians," *"Forty-fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1926-1927* (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1928), p. 191.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 193-194.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 196-198.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 203.

Among the Chickasaws there was a communal feeling concerning property rights. Land was held in common by the tribe except for use of ownership to those who built houses or cleared land in certain areas. This communal arrangement obtained in the case of the town garden. With regard to property of a deceased person, this would not go to the decedent's children but instead passed to the brothers and sisters and children of the deceased's sister. In this way the property remained in the clan. [5]

Punishment for crime among the Chickasaws was rather severe based on a Chickasaw version of the old Hebrew Mosaic Law. If a man or woman killed another, the perpetrator of the crime was killed by relatives of the deceased after the manner of a Sicilian vendetta. If the guilty party could not be found the brother of the murderer or his nearest male relative was killed. This expiated the crime. It might also be noted that equals killed equals, a man was killed for a man and a woman for a woman. Even the close relatives of the guilty party did not interfere. If this seems a bit harsh, it can be noted that the perjury law passed during the second session of the 1857 Chickasaw legislature called for severe whipping and in some cases death by hanging. [6]

Adultery was severely punished in earlier times. The favorite method was to shoot the offending party with barbed arrows. The attrition was too great so a less drastic method was introduced. If a husband had it on good authority that his wife was unfaithful, he and a group of friends simply sought an opportune moment and chastised her severely, after which the usual thing to do was to cut off her hair, a portion of her nose, and in certain cases a lip also. There were, however, certain gradations of severity. For the first offense a woman might have her hair cut off and her ears cropped and a man might have his ears cut off close to his head. The second offense was often punishable by the cutting off of the nose and upper lip. The third transgression might mean death although this was rarely the case. Minor offenses such as horse stealing were punished by whipping. After a man was punished in this way, his debt to society was considered paid and no social ostracism followed him. [7]

Many historians have alluded to the idle and indolent nature

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[5] *Ibid.*, p. 216.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 217-218.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 218-219.

of Indian men with regard to the more menial and mundane chores of life. This was apparently not the case among the Chickasaws. Although women occupied a somewhat inferior status socially, it appears that the men did most of the agricultural work. In addition to this, the men did the house-building and hunting, and of course held complete sway in the various ceremonies. [8]

With regard to religion the Chickasaws always seemed to have believed in a supreme being who was characterized as *Abainki* or "father above." This concept was probably due to Christian influence. Before this there was a supreme but not sole deity, dealing with the sky or sun. "A multiplicity of celestial powers" was the rule. They were called the spirits of the "clouds, sun, clear sky, and He that lives above the clear sky." [9]

Some of the more exotic customs of the Chickasaws concerned burial practices. The dead were often buried under the floor of the house in which they died, together with their personal belongings. If the deceased were a man, he was interred with his rifle and other hunting equipment. If the person was a woman or child, the few simple possessions that he or she might have treasured were buried with the body. Mourning went on for an extended period of time, in some instances for a year. Widows were often made to wait three years before remarrying. If they remarried sooner they could lay themselves open to a charge of adultery. These and similar customs persisted even after the Civil War. For instance, if the decedent had been an important man, all the women of the neighborhood would cry in front of his house for half an hour. They no longer buried the dead in the house, but they continued to erect small log houses over the grave to symbolize the older custom. The survivor, either husband or wife, wept and wailed over a grave, morning and evening, for a month. Chickasaws who were past middle age in the early twentieth century remembered the custom well. [10]

Of all the Chickasaw religious customs, one of the most important was the *Pishofa* ceremony. This ceremony was a feast and a dance accompanying the treatment of the sick. The "treatment" usually began on the third or fourth day of illness. [11] The ceremony was preceded by a banquet with the entire village tak-

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[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 228-229.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 247-248.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 231-233.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 258.

ing part. This was followed by a dance, the arrangement of which depended upon the eccentricities of the "attending physician." The participants danced with great vigor as it was believed that the vitality of the dancers imparted strength to the sick person. [12]

Recreation was a vital part of Chickasaw life, and a ball game similar to lacrosse was the favorite pastime. The game was played with sticks, perhaps two and one half feet long, which had a sort of leather webbing for catching a feather-stuffed buckskin ball. The object was to throw the ball through the opponent's goal. These games were hotly contested and were played until well past the time of removal to Indian Territory. Other games were also played, including one in which both men and women participated. There were also contests similar to soccer and field hockey. [13]

The Chickasaw mode of dress, at least for half-breeds, resembled that of his white counterpart on the frontier. Coarse homespun cloth was made into trousers, shirts, bandanas and sashes for men. Women wore long frocks of homespun or calico. Footwear for both sexes consisted of shoes or moccasins. [14] This differed from the dress of most fullbloods which resembled that worn by the Creeks and Seminoles. This would consist of a turban, shirt, a frock with a fringed cape, a bead belt, a beaded pouch, leather leggings, moccasins, and a knife in the belt. Women wore long dresses of ticking, calico, or sometimes silk, neckerchiefs, and shoes or moccasins. [15]

Much of the social life in Indian Territory found expression in parties, dances, or other such gatherings. The Chickasaws who occupied the region around the Red River can be considered as typical. A favorite social event there was the "hanking," the Chickasaw equivalent of a quilting bee. The whole day would be topped off by a sumptuous repast followed by music and dancing. The dances were primarily traditional Indian works but waltzes and reels were sometimes added to the repertoire. [16] Also big in

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[12] *Ibid.*, p. 261.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 242.

[14] Norman Graebner, "Provincial Indian Society in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIII (Winter, 1945-46), pp. 331-332.

[15] Ethan Allen Hitchcock, *Traveler in Indian Territory*, Grant Foreman, ed. (Cedar Rapids, Ia: Torch Press, 1930), p. 199.

[16] Graebner, *op. cit.*, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 336-337.

the local calendar of events were camp meetings which were as much social gatherings as religious experiences. Many of these meetings lasted for three weeks with families coming for miles to be in on the festivities. [17]

Education

Education seemed to be an area of much concern to the Chickasaws. Prior to the removal in 1837-38, there were four mission schools in Mississippi. The first and probably the most significant of these schools was Charity Hall, founded in 1820, under the auspices of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. [18] Under its director, Robert Bell, the school became a center of Chickasaw education. This school was carried on in the Oklahoma Territory under the name of Burney Academy, which was situated near the present day town of Lebanon. It was called by various names including Lebanon Institute and the Chickasaw Orphans Home. [18a]

Soon after their arrival in Indian Territory the Chickasaws in 1842 asked the Secretary of War for a large manual labor boarding school so the young men would not have to be sent out of the nation to be educated. The usual bureaucratic procrastination followed and the request was not acted upon. The Chickasaws also contacted various religious denominations concerning the establishment of mission schools, but again they received little encouragement. The situation continued to deteriorate and by 1847, there were no schools at all in the Chickasaw district. The last teacher had abandoned his post and there were no missionaries. [19] But by 1848, contracts had been made and by 1852 the Chickasaw Manual Labor Academy opened, followed within two years by Bloomfield Academy, Wapanucka Academy, and Colbert Institute. The Manual Labor Academy, Bloomfield and Colbert were operated in conjunction with the Methodist Episcopal Church, South while Wapanucka Academy was under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church. [20] Prior to this, the few who were educated were sent to Choctaw schools in the Choctaw Nation or in Ken-

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[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 336-337.

[18] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Charity Hall, an early Chickasaw School," *ibid.*, Vol. XI, (September, 1933), pp. 913-926.

[18a] Muriel H. Wright, "Education in the Chickasaw Nation," *ibid.*, Vol. XXXLV (Winter, 1956-1957), pp. 486-487.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 487.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 488.

(Oklahoma Historical Society)

OLD BLOOMFIELD ACADEMY, 1854

Old Bloomfield Academy was southwest of Achille in Bryan County, and about 1½ miles southwest of the second site of Bloomfield Academy and just west of the abandoned Bloomfield cemetery. Print from original painting by Alice Hearrell Murray, wife of the late Gov. William H. Murray of Oklahoma, 1931-35.

tucky. Several also attended Plainfield Academy, located at Plainfield, Connecticut. [21]

Of all the schools in Chickasaw territory, Bloomfield Academy had the longest existence. (It received its name when the Superintendent, J. H. Carr, was attempting to give directions as to how to reach the school. He mentioned that the site was situated in a beautiful field filled with blooming wild flowers. Bloomfield was adopted as the official designation of the school.) [22] The school began actual operations in 1853 as an institution under Methodist aegis. Superintendent Carr was with the school in its initial stages and remained in that post throughout the 1850's.

The first contract called for a total enrollment of forty-five girls, but only thirty were at the school during its first three years. During this period, the Chickasaw Nation appropriated $1,000 a year for the pupils out of tribal funds. In 1857, this allowance was increased to $3,000 and the Church's share of the expense was to be $500 although it ran much higher. In 1858, the enrollment was fifty-four girls with an average attendance of forty-five. In 1859, the annual allowance was again increased to cover not only the expenses of the individual student but also $12.00 per year for clothing as well. By 1860, the school's enrollment had increased to sixty. In the summer of 1861, the pressures of the Civil War caused the families of the students to withdraw them from school, thus forcing it to discontinue operations. The physical plant of the school was not affected appreciably during the war. [23]

The curriculum at Bloomfield was the same as that followed in most of the Indian mission schools during this period. It included instruction in the English language and alphabet, spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic, both written and mental. As the students advanced, natural philosophy, grammar, botany, and United States history were added. The girls were also taught to cut, make, and mend their own clothes. The afternoons were largely devoted to sewing, weaving and embroidery work, drawing, painting, and vocal music. [24] For all this, the teachers at Bloom-

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[21] Carolyn Foreman, "Education Among the Chickasaws," *ibid.*, Vol. XV (June, 1937), p. 143.

[22] Wright, "Education in the Chickasaw Nation," *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 488.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 488.

[24] Susan J. Carr, "Bloomfield Academy and its Founder," *ibid.*, Vol. II (December, 1924), p. 369.

field received the sum of $100 per year plus room and board. This was gradually increased to $250 by 1861. During the entire period, Superintendent Carr received $600 per year. [25]

The Chickasaw Manual Labor Academy was probably the most noteworthy of the schools in the Chickasaw Nation both in terms of size and accomplishments. The Chickasaws had asked for such a school in 1842. Suitable plans were drawn and a contract made in 1844 for a large coeducational academy. Four years elapsed before construction was even begun. It was not until 1852, ten years after the initial request, that operations at the school commenced. The delay caused the Indians to distrust the white man's promises. Under the able leadership of its superintendent, Reverend John C. Robinson, the school made good progress. In 1854, the coeducational format was dropped and the school became an all male institution. By this time the enrollment reached one hundred twenty, a figure that remained constant up to the Civil War.

The school was a joint enterprise of the Chickasaw Nation and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Under the terms of the contract, the ratio of financial support was to be $7,000 yearly provided by the Chickasaws and $1,500 annually donated by the Church. In 1857, the Chickasaw legislature authorized a supplemental grant of $1,250. After this, such aid was appropriated as financial exegencies dictated. [26]

Under Robinson's management, the Chickasaw Manual Labor Academy became very progressive in its industrial arts program. The main thrust of this program was directed toward farming and stock raising. In 1856, Reverend Robinson began teaching scientific farming to the boys at the academy. Such subjects as improved seeds, care of the land, and other forms of good farm management were stressed. In 1858, a flour mill and a saw mill were set up at the school. At the same time, Reverend Robinson also subscribed to various learned agricultural journals so the students might keep abreast of new developments and techniques. [27]

The program of study at the school paralleled that of the other mission schools in the Nation. The students, however, were not typical. Most of them were grown men who came to the school

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[25] *Ibid.*, p. 369.

[26] Wright, "Education in the Chickasaw Nation," *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 489.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 489.

to learn better methods of agriculture. In addition to religious instruction, which was strongly emphasized, simple spelling and reading were main subjects as a great many of the students were illiterate. Charles A. Goodrich's graded readers, his *History of North America* and *Ancient History,* plus Samuel A. Mitchell's *Primary Geography* were the main text books. [28] According to Reverend Robinson, the school possessed a competent and dedicated staff, including Mr. S. W. Dunn, Reverend William Jones, and Miss Ellen Steele. These people were credited with the success of the school. [29]

The academy was under the direct control of the Indian Mission Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South which appointed the superintendent who governed the school. His job was not an easy one, as he was accountable not only to the Mission Conference but also the board of trustees and the other authorities of the Chickasaw Nation. It would seem that the job called for much patience and tact. He was also responsible for fixing the salaries of teachers and assistants and for allocating the school's $10,000 annual operational budget. [30]

It would appear that the future of the Manual Labor Academy was bright. Reverend Robinson's ambitious program was working well. The school had 200 acres of land enclosed with 160 acres under cultivation. In addition, the farm was well equipped with modern implements. [31] The students of the academy were acquiring a broad general knowledge and seemed content with their lot and were not prone to run away. [32] But the image was soon tarnished by the Civil War. At the end of the term in June 1861, the school closed and did not reopen until after the end of the war. [33] It was not so fortunate as Bloomfield, incurring rather extensive damage during the conflict.

Wapanucka Academy, like Bloomfield Academy, was a school for girls. It was operated by the Presbyterian Church and was opened in 1852. The name is derived from *Wapanachki,* a Dela-

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[28] Carolyn Foreman, "Chickasaw Manual Labor Academy," *ibid.*, Vol. XXIII (Winter, 1945-1946), p. 343.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 344.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 346.

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 346-347.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 343.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 349.

ware Indian word meaning "eastern land people." [34] During its first years, it was known locally as Allen's Academy after a certain J. S. Allen who first headed the school's construction in 1851-52. The school was established under a contract between William Medill, Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Chickasaws, and Walter Lowrie acting in behalf of the Mission Board of the Presbyterian Church of the United States. J. S. Allen served as interim superintendent until 1852, when the Reverend Hamilton Ballentine, his wife, and two teachers took over operation of the school, with forty girls soon in attendance. [35]

At the outset, there seemed to be some misunderstanding on the part of the Chickasaw officials with regard to the financing of the institution. On October 19, 1852, the council voted to appropriate $2,500 per year for the maintenance of 100 girls at Wapanucka. This fell far short of the calculations of Medill and Lowrie who had figured $75.00 per girl annually from the Chickasaw Council plus the amount donated by the Board of Missions. They believed the Council should pay three quarters of the cost and the Mission Board one quarter. [36] Actually, there were two points of conflict regarding this matter of finances. In the first place, Lowrie held that the Chickasaw Council ought to pay $75.00 per girl annually for 100 girls whether that number was actually enrolled or not. He also believed that the tribal legislature should appropriate additional funds to cover the expenses incurred in adding two wings to the building in 1852. The Chickasaws contended that they were only obligated to pay $75.00 annually for each pupil actually enrolled at the school. They flatly refused to appropriate funds for the additions to the building which were ordered constructed on Lowrie's own authority without the approval of the Chickasaws. This squabbling went on for some time. In fact the Chickasaws even considered taking over the school and planning for its management under a private contract, but this did not materialize. The dispute was finally settled on October 5, 1854, when the Chickasaw Council repealed its 1852 resolution and agreed to pay the $75.00 per pupil but only for the number actually enrolled. [37] In this sense they had won out over the board.

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[34] Muriel H. Wright, "Wapanucka Academy, Chickasaw Nation," *ibid.*, Vo. XII (December, 1934), p. 405.

[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 405-407.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 408.

[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 415-416, 420.

This was not an isolated case. In the long run, the Mission Board spent much more than the Chickasaws paid out. In the written accounts of the Mission Board for June, 1860, the records show that over a period of years, the Board paid out $10,555.25 more than it got from the Indians. From 1852 to 1857 the Church spent $9,440 more than the Council appropriated besides $5,000 in additional expenditures from 1857 to 1860. In the eight years between 1852 and 1860, expenditures for all purposes on the part of the Mission Board came to $25,000. [38] It seems that the Chickasaws relied heavily upon the munificense of the Mission Board rather than their own treasury.

On July 6, 1860, following the close of the school term, the Board decided to cease operations because of insufficient funds to operate the institution. All the furniture, horses, wagons, cattle, and other goods and provisions were sold, and the academy was closed for eight years. [39] It had to its credit, however, one distinction; it was the only school in the territory mentioned in a treaty. In the second article of the Treaty of Separation between the Choctaws and Chickasaws in 1855, it was stipulated that should the new tribal boundary line not place Wapanucka Academy inside Chickasaw territory, an offset would be made to correct the situation. A survey subsequent to the treaty's ratification placed the school two miles within the Chickasaw Nation. [40]

The method of operation at Wapanucka closely resembled that of the other schools with its long forty week term and in the meager salaries of the teachers. One facet was unique, and that was the method of instruction in home economics. At Wapanucka, all the girls were divided into "families" with all ages and sizes represented and were under the care of an adult supervisor. The older girls would handle the younger ones and in this way it was believed that the school situation would more closely approximate the conditions of home life, making for a more meaningful learning experience.

It is true that the mission schools in the Chickasaw Nation had a salubrious effect on the people. It is also evident that despite the parsimonious propensities of the Chickasaw Council and legislature, the Nation had an abiding concern for education. In fact, much of the Constitution of 1856 was devoted to the organi-

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[38] *Ibid.*, p. 421.

[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 421-422.

[40] *Ibid.*, pp. 405-406.

zation of a national school system. A superintendent of public education was to be elected for a four-year term. Contracts between the boards of trustees of the various schools and teachers at those institutions were to have legislative approval.[41] The elected superintendent of instruction appointed the trustees of the school within the counties established in 1856. In addition, he had to ride circuit, as it were, visiting the schools every three months, at public examination time, and any time the situation at a particular school got out of hand, which rarely happened.[42]

A feature of the schools in the Chickasaw Nation at this time was the oral public examination. Reverend John Robinson provided this characterization: "The examination was without any special previous preparation, and the selections were made promiscuously from every part of the course they had studied, exhibiting the scholars in their true condition, making reasonable deduction in their favor on account of embarrassment. It was had in the presence of a large number of respectable citizens and strangers.[43] From this statement it can be inferred that these examinations were very much social as well as intellectual events.

These schools exercised a refining influence upon the natives in the areas where they operated. As Robinson stated: "Yet with the great body of the people there is a marked progressive improvement, evincing a rapid preparation to become an integral part of the body politic of the great nation by which they are encircled."[44] The Reverend Edward Cauch, superintendent of Colbert Institute, echoed this sentiment when he reported: "The people are generally peaceable, sober, and industrious and have fine crops . . . Most of the Indians in this vicinity are advancing rapidly in civilization; they are opening good farms, building comfortable houses, and are trying to furnish their homes comfortably."[45] Certainly the philosophy of the mission schools was summed up by Reverend J. H. Carr of Bloomfield when he said: "It is the theory of work that they must learn in order to be pre-

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[41] Caroline Davis, "Education of the Chickasaws 1856-1907," *ibid.*, Vol. XV (December, 1937), p. 415.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 415.

[43] J. C. Robinson to Elias Rector, August 6, 1860, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1860-1861* (Washington: George W. Bowman, 1861), p. 375.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 376.

[45] E. Cauch to Elias Rector, August 27, 1857, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1857-1858* (Washington: William A. Harris, 1858), pp. 546-547.

pared for the emergencies of life." [46] Dedication and hard work were the watchwords in these early frontier schools.

Politics

The government of the Chickasaws during the period prior to removal was made up of a head chief referred to as "the king," and a council of chiefs. This group was at first hereditary but later became elective. This arrangement obtained until the middle 1850's. In 1855, the Chickasaw council appointed Sampson Folsom and Edmund Pickens as tribal representatives with orders to proceed to Washington to agitate for an independent Chickasaw Nation. This was brought about because "the political connection heretofore existing between the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes of Indians has given rise to unhappy and injurious dissensions and controversies among them.." [47] The controversy centered largely around the fear of the Chickasaws that the numerically superior Choctaws might gain control of their finances.

This desire for independent status was recognized by the government in Washington. Many statements were made by the Indian Affairs Bureau noting the keen desire of the Chickasaws to set up their own nation. It was felt that such a separation "would . . . have a decided tendency to promote their advancement and permanent prosperity." [48]

There were four prominent issues in the Washington conference of 1855: (1) The United States government sought a cession of all the Choctaw claims west of the hundredth meridian of longitude; (2) they also wanted a long-term lease of all the commonly held Choctaw and Chickasaw land between the ninety-eighth and one hundredth meridians for the purpose of settling other tribes on it, notably the Wichitas and the Delawares; (3) the Chickasaws earnestly desired political sovereignty; (4) the Choctaws were holding out for a settlement of their net proceeds claim. [49]

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[46] J. H. Carr to George Manypenny, July 28, 1856, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1856-1857* (Washington: Cornelius Wendell, 1857), p. 716.

[47] Portion of the Chickasaw—Choctaw Treaty of 1855 in "Indian Documents," Vol. L, p. 87, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[48] George Manypenny to Robert McClelland, November 26, 1853, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1853-1854* (Washington: Beverley Tucker, 1854), p. 255.

[49] Muriel H. Wright, "Brief Outline of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations in Indian Territory, 1820-1860," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VII (December, 1929), p. 408.

The negotiations lasted some three months before the agreement was signed on June 22, 1855. Under the terms of the treaty, the Chickasaws were given all the country between the eastern boundary of the old Chickasaw district and the ninety-eighth meridian to govern as a sovereign nation. In addition, the land between the ninety-eighth and one hundredth meridians was to be leased to the United States for permanent settlement of the Wichita and Delaware Indians, with the Chickasaws and Choctaws retaining full settlement rights. In return the United States treasury was to pay the sum of $800,000, three-fourths of which was to go to the Choctaws and one-fourth to the Chickasaws. The treaty was ratified by the Chickasaw General Council on October 3, 1855, with the stipulation that the nineteenth article be amended to allow for the appointment of surveyors to mark the eastern and western boundaries of the Choctaw Nation and the western boundary of the Chickasaw Nation. The Choctaw legislature failed to consider this proviso, consequently the Chickasaw council summarily rescinded its ratification. It was largely an empty gesture because the United States Senate, in executive session, ratified the treaty on February 21, 1856, thus putting its provisions into effect. [50]

With independence achieved, the Chickasaws began the task of creating a new government. The form they adopted was decidedly republican in nature. The constitution contained a bill of rights and guaranteed the right to trial by jury. Power was delegated to a bicameral legislature, an executive and a judicial branch. The chief executive of the nation was to be a governor, elected every two years, with the provision that should a candidate not receive a majority of the popular votes cast, a joint session of the legislature would elect the governor. The judiciary consisted of a supreme court, circuit courts, and county courts with the judges of the two higher courts elected by a majority in both houses of the legislature. [51]

Politically, the Chickasaw Nation was divided into four counties: Pickens, Tishomingo, Panola, and Pontotoc. This simple political configuration was convenient and kept the representative process manageable. Each county was a senatorial district, electing three senators every two years. The lower house was elected on an annual basis. Four representatives were elected in Pickens and Tishomingo counties and five were chosen in

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[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 408-409.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 410.

(Wright Collection)

OLD CAPITOL AT TISHOMINGO,
CHICKASAW NATION, 1858

Panola and Pontotoc counties. Lesser officials such as sheriffs and constables were elected every two years by the voters in each county. [52]

Three of the counties in the Chickasaw Nation were named primarily after noted Chickasaw leaders or places prominent in Chickasaw history. Panola (Choctaw word for cotton) County, the smallest of the four, was located in the extreme southeastern corner of the Nation. Its boundaries corresponded closely with those of the former Panola County (the cotton plantation region) which was organized under Choctaw auspices in 1850. Pickens County was situated in the southwestern portion, wide range region, of the Nation between the Washita and Red rivers. It was named for Edmund Pickens, for many years recognized as a great tribal leader. He was one of three commissioners who negotiated the Washington treaty of 1852 which cleared up many of the misunderstandings engendered by the treaties of 1832 and 1834. He was also one of the five representatives who signed the Doaksville Agreement with the Choctaws in 1854. This laid the groundwork for the separation treaty of 1855 in which Pickens also played a significant role. He was a member of the constitutional convention in 1856 and served as a national senator from 1857 to 1861. Tishomingo County, located in the east central part of the Nation, commemorated the great leader of the Chickasaws who played such an important part in tribal history for many years. He was present at the first treaty between the United States and the Chickasaws in 1786 and played important parts in the treaties of 1832 and 1834. He died in 1888 on his way west from Mississippi. Pontotoc County recalled a location of great importance to the Chickasaws. The original Pontotoc was situated in Mississippi, and was the site of the main tribal council house. It was in this council house that the removal treaty of 1832 was signed. [53]

During the first years of the new Chickasaw Nation, probably the most prominent man in governmental affairs was Cyrus Harris. As first governor of the Nation, his job was to help get the Nation started on the right path. He was known for his administrative ability, and the people of the Nation manifested their confidence in him by electing him governor five times, a record unequalled among the Chickasaws.

Harris was born in Mississippi in 1817. He left that area in

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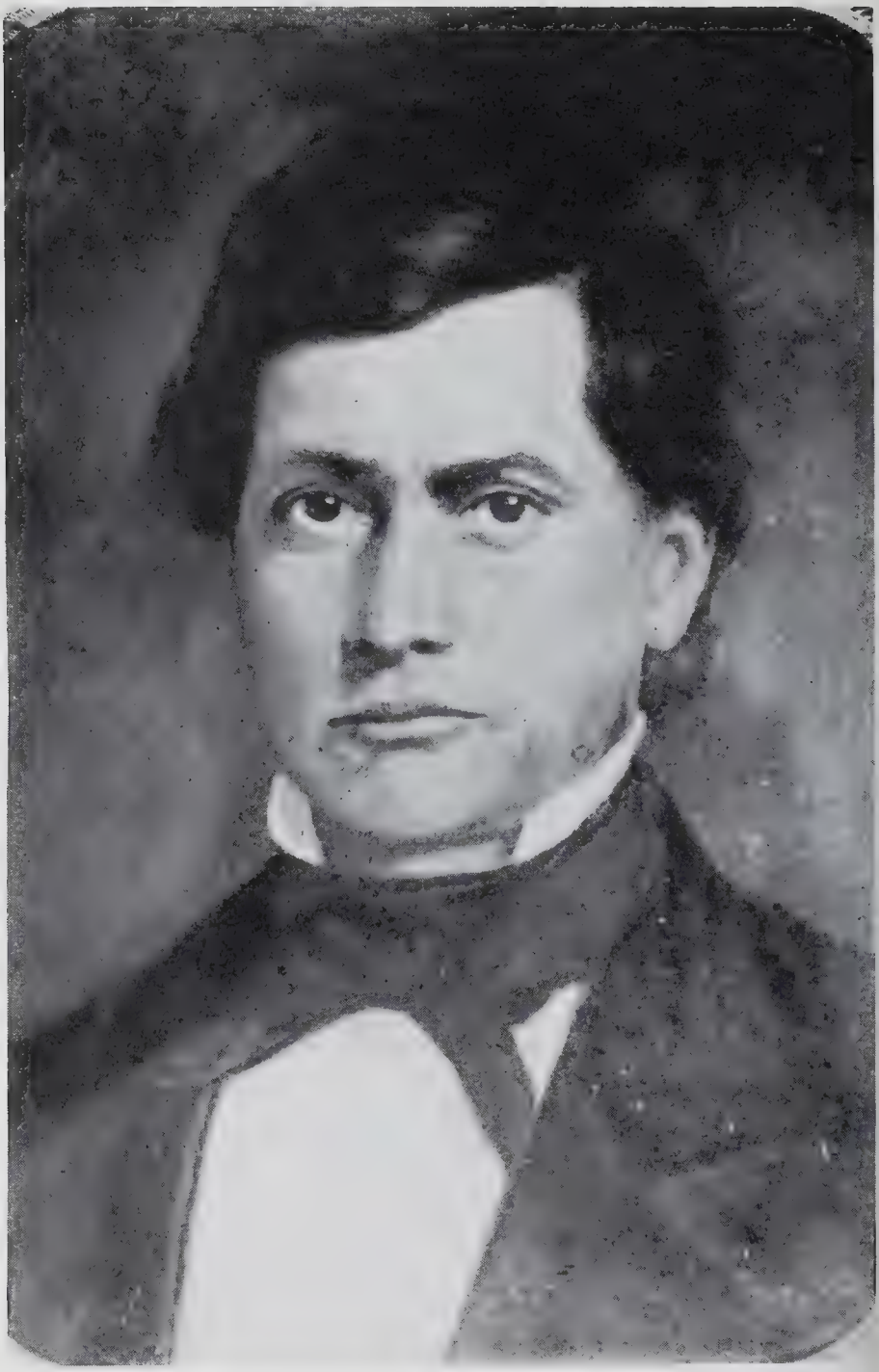
[52] *Ibid.*, pp. 410-411.

[53] Muriel H. Wright, "Organization of Counties in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations," *ibid.*, Vol. VIII (September, 1930), pp. 328-329.



(Oklahoma Historical Society)

CYRUS HARRIS, CHICKASAW
First elected Governor of the Chickasaw Nation, 1857

1837 and settled on the Blue River in present-day Johnston County. From the beginning, he showed a marked interest in politics. In 1850, he was chosen to accompany Edmund Pickens as a delegate to Washington. During this time he also served as secretary of the National Council and as national treasurer. During this period he had moved to Boggy Depot and then to Pennington Creek. In November 1855, he moved to a new home located at Mill Creek, just northwest of Tishomingo, where he lived until his death in 1888. [54]

Harris's election to the governorship was something less than a landslide. He was chosen by a joint vote of the legislature, there being no majority among the candidates. His margin of victory was one vote. His chief opponent throughout the period was Dougherty Colbert, who defeated Harris for the governorship in 1858. Harris was re-elected in 1860 and defeated again in 1862. His defeat can be attributed largely to the fact that his views toward the Civil War were not militant enough. The Chickasaws had a marked preference for the Confederacy and while Harris was certainly no Northern sympathizer, he was known to believe that disunion was not in the best interests of the Nation. Harris approved the secession resolutions on May 25, 1861 largely because the United States had abandoned its forts in Indian Territory, thus exposing the Chickasaws of the region to attack by the plains tribes. He believed that protection of the area by some power, either Federal or Confederate, was necessary. [55]

The relations of the Chickasaws with the United States date from the Confederation period. In the year 1786, the first treaty between the two groups was promulgated. This agreement called for the government to supply the Chickasaws with an annual annuity in goods. This was expanded by an act passed in 1799, which stated that the sum of $3,000 per year would be paid as a permanent annual annuity. Later, after the sale of the Chickasaw tribal lands, the funds obtained were held in trust by the United States and paid annually to the occupants of the original land in the form of annuities. Also, certain monies were invested for the Chickasaws by the government at five percent interest. [56]

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[54] John B. Meserve, "Governor Cyrus Harris," *ibid.*, Vol. XV (December, 1937), pp. 380-381.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 381.

[56] George Manypenny to Robert McClelland, November 26, 1855, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1855-1856* (Washington: Cornelius Wendell, 1856), pp. 566-567.

The Chickasaw relations with the Federal government centered largely around their dealings with the Indian Affairs Bureau and its representative, the United States Indian agent. The Indian agent usually resided in the territory he supervised and it was his job to keep things orderly and to keep his superiors in Washington apprised of any and all developments. During most of the 1850's, the main problem facing the government was continued friction between the Choctaws and the Chickasaws. Apparently the treaty of 1855 did not assuage the rankled feelings of the two tribes. Douglas H. Cooper, agent for the Chickasaws and Choctaws for most of the period, sees the trouble stemming from an "exclusiveness" which was exacerbated by separate tribal moneyed interests. [57] Because of this conflict, Choctaws who lived in Chickasaw country were denied the suffrage by the Chickasaw government although the Choctaws did not retliate. "It is evident," Cooper wrote, "that there must be antagonism of interest and feeling between the Choctaw and Chickasaw citizens . . . so long as they look to their tribal or family funds for support of their government." [58] Cooper believed it was necessary to develop a common interest between the two tribes, an opinion shared by many of his contemporaries in the Indian Bureau. He proposed a plan which, if adopted, might have aided the situation. He called for allotting to each Chickasaw and Choctaw adult male a tract of land large enough for a homestead and making the land non-transferable for twenty-one years. The remainder of the commonly owned lands of the two tribes would be set apart as an international domain. It would also be stipulated that any person either tribe wished to adopt would have the right to settle on a tract of land equal in size to that given each Indian for $1.25 per acre, payable to the United States who would in turn use it for the benefit of the two tribes. An Indian could acquire additional land in the same way, the whole amount then to be divided up proportionately between the two tribes to support their governments and schools. [59] This plan was not adopted because both tribes objected to breaking up lands held in common.

Similar sentiments were voiced by other officials who saw the allocating of large tracts of land and the payment of annuities to the Indians for land cessions as a great mistake. They worked

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[57] Douglas H. Cooper to George Manypenny, September 1, 1856, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1856-1857*, p. 698.

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 698.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 699.

for reversal of this policy but were unsuccessful. Using supposed concern for the Indian's welfare as a basis, they argued that large areas of land prevented the Indians from acquiring settled habits. These officials also felt that the payment of annuities led to dependence and idleness and made the Indians targets for unscrupulous traders. [60] Such solicitude seems hypocritical inasmuch as the Indians were practically forced off of their old lands and the per capita annuity payment in 1855 was approximately $10.00 per person. [61]

Concern on the part of the United States government was also voiced with regard to the laws and their enforcement in the Chickasaw Nation. It was noted that while the Choctaw Nation functioned smoothly in this respect, "among the Chickasaws the laws, owing to different and permanent reasons, are not well enforced." [62] The reason for this was said to be the fact that the Chickasaw Nation was made up, in large measure, of two or three very large and influential families. It was alleged that in almost every case brought before Chickasaw courts, judge and jury were related by blood ties or close friendship to one or the other of the litigants. [63] Despite the lamentable nature of the situation, not even the government could do much about family relationships.

In the final analysis, however, relations between the Chickasaws and the Federal Government were, with a few exceptions, amicable. An Indian Commission report stated: "The peace and good order prevailing amongst them and their earnest efforts to improve their physical and moral condition entitle them to the warm and active sympathies of our people." [64] Another such report read: "If any Indian tribes on the continent can be incorporated into this union it will be the Chickasaws and the Choctaws; always a peaceful and agricultural people, domestic in their hab-

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[60] J. W. Denver to J. Thompson, November 30, 1857, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1857-1858*, p. 292.

[61] George Manypenny to Robert McClelland, November 25, 1854, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1854-1855* (Washington: Beverley Tucker, 1855), p. 531.

[62] Douglas H. Cooper to Elias Rector, September 15, 1860, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1860-1861*, p. 352.

[63] *Ibid.*, p. 352.

[64] George Manypenny to Robert McClelland, November 26, 1855, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1855-1856*, p. 328.

its, not fond of the chase. The experiment of constitutional government . . . has been successful." [65]

Economy

The economy of the Chickasaws in Indian Territory was, as it had been in their original homes, largely agricultural. There was some mineral mining but most of the Indians in the territory lived on products from the soil. The Chickasaws were fortunate in possessing a considerable amount of productive land. The region, with its extensive prairies, was seen as having excellent promise both for farming and grazing. It was anticipated that the area would be suitable for large scale cattle raising to supply an ever burgeoning market. [66]

Indeed, a number of the Chickasaws flourished in their new environment. The majority of them were the half-breeds who had prospered in Mississippi and had simply transplanted their wealth to the west. In both business and pleasure, these affluent Indians resembled the southern planters among whom they had lived. Many had fine furniture and homes, owned quite a few slaves, raised large herds of fine cattle, and grew cotton. Many of these better farms grew considerable quantities of wheat, oats, rye, corn, peas, potatoes, plus orchards of peach, pear, and plum trees. These plantations were well equipped with modern implements and as these large tracts grew they fostered a network of wagon roads which not only helped move their products to market but at the same time helped the area develop more rapidly. [67]

Standing in sharp contrast with this progressive, though numerically small, group were the majority of people of the Chickasaw Nation. They lived, not in substantial homes but in log shanties. These dwellings were often of the most primitive nature with no windows, one door, a chimney of sticks and dirt, and a roof constructed of poles covered with sod. There was often little furniture and the cooking was usually done over open fires. [68]

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[65] Elias Rector to A. B. Greenwood, September 24, 1860, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1860-1861*, p. 341.

[66] Kenton Harper to L. Lea, September 1, 1851, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1851-1852* (Washington: A. Boyd Hamilton, 1852), p. 399.

[67] Cyrus Byington to George Manypenny, July 1, 1856, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1856-1857*, p. 703.

[68] Albert Love interview, "Indian-Pioneer History," Vol. CIX, p. 419, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Economically, these people could be classed as decidedly depressed. Often the only crop was a patch of corn, perhaps not over two to five acres in size. Often the only implements in evidence would be a handmade wooden plow stock and a "bull tongue plow." [69] The more fortunate ones might supplement the otherwise meager fare with pumpkins, beans, peas, or other garden crops.

Most of these people added to the diet by regular hunting and fishing. Thus, many felt that it was a waste of effort to grow too much as long as fish and other game could be had. The favorite method of fishing was to shoot the fish with a barbed arrow with a line attached so the fish could be pulled to shore. [70] Whatever the means of livelihood might be, it was not much above the level of simple subsistence and the Chickasaw country was certainly not a region of surplus.

In the area of culinary tastes the Chickasaws were simple and unsophisticated. The menu in a comparatively well-to-do household might resemble that of many frontier families and perhaps would include pork or, more likely, fried chicken, corn bread, beans, and sliced sweet potatoes. A poorer family might make do with corn bread and rabbit, wild turkey, or fish to supply protein. A favorite dish among the Chickasaws was a sort of corn meal paste with sugar or molasses added for sweetening and eaten with the fingers. [71]

To sum up, it would appear that except for the wealthier segment of the population, the majority of the Chickasaws lived in what can only be described as poverty. A report of the Indian Bureau emphasized this: "Most . . . cultivate the soil to a small extent; but having no individual proprietorship therein, they are continually on the wing, moving from place to place, and one sees, in travelling through their country, more deserted than inhabited houses. They are generally poor farmers and poorer livers, without gardens or orchards, with plenty of cattle, but no milk or butter, caring to surround themselves with few of the luxuries or even comforts of life." [72]

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[69] *Ibid.*, p. 420.

[70] Sam Mahardy interview, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 544.

[71] D. N. Doak interview, *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 544.

[72] Elias Rector to J. W. Denver, October 26, 1858, United States Department of the Interior, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1858-1859* (Washington: William A. Harris, 1859), pp. 478-479.

Conclusion

It would seem that the Chickasaws had attained a social, political, and economic status far greater in complexity than many have supposed. The extent of this development is especially revealed by their political and educational systems. This is even more significant when one considers the condition of Indian Territory when they arrived on the scene. It was a country which had never felt the plow and was inhabited only by bands of nomadic plains Indian tribes.

From the beginning, the Chickasaws realized that it would be necessary to compete with the encroaching white man. The best way to achieve this, they concluded, was to embrace his customs. They adopted his style of dress, his methods of education, and his mode of government while still respecting and keeping alive their separate identity and culture. Even if this experiment was distasteful to some, in the long run it paid rich dividends because it brought the Chickasaws much closer to the world they would have to live in and to the events that were shaping that world. Despite serious handicaps, this acceptance of new ways and ideas enabled them to better contribute to the ultimate growth of Indian Territory and, later, to the state of Oklahoma.

THE ROCK FALLS RAID: AN ANALYSIS OF THE DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

By William W. Savage, Jr.

Occupation of the six-million-acre Cherokee Outlet during the summer of 1883 by members of the Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association, a group of Kansas cattlemen holding a five-year lease from the Cherokee Nation, brought swift and heated objection from hundreds of would-be homesteaders camped along the northern boundary of Indian Territory.[1] Led by David L. Payne, one-time guide, scout, Kansas legislator, and petty Washington bureaucrat, they coveted the "splendid piece of property" below the Kansas line.[2] Branding the Association "a soulless monopoly antagonistic to the rights of the people of the United States," they denounced it as having "neither a legal or moral right" to the outlet.[3] The boomers, as they were called, incorrectly assumed that the Outlet had been included in lands ceded to the federal government by the Five Civilized Tribes in 1866, and so they believed the Association's occupancy of the Outlet was sanctioned by the Department of the Interior. Boomers were first attracted to Indian Territory by Elias C. Boudinot, a Cherokee attorney in Washington, D. C., who, in a letter to the Chicago *Times* dated February 17, 1879, publicized government purchases from the Creek, Seminole, Choctaw, and Chickasaw tribes after the Civil War. The more than 12,000,000 acres were located west of the 97th meridian and south of the Cherokee Outlet, according to Boudinot, but the boomers who reprinted his letter paid little attention to his delineation. Boomers were mistaken about the Department of the Interior's attitude toward the Association lease. Secretary Henry M. Teller's policy was one of non-recognition, although he supported the rights of cattlemen operating under leases against persons having no such agreement with the Indians. Teller's pronouncement, originally formulated with regard to leases in the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation, was later applied to

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[1] For details, see Edward Everett Dale, *Cow County* (New ed., Norman, 1965), Chapter IX, and William W. Savage, Jr., "Barbed Wire and Bureaucracy: The Formation of the Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association," *Journal of the West*, Vol. VII, No. 3 (July, 1968), pp. 405-414.

[2] *Oklahoma War Chief* (Wichita, Kansas), March 2, 1883. The standard account of Payne's activities is Carl Coke Rister, *Land Hunger: David L. Payne and the Oklahoma Boomers* (Norman, 1942).

[3] *Oklahoma War Chief* (South Haven, Kansas), October 23, 1884.

the Cherokee Outlet.[4] Cattlemen had corporate connections, Payne said, and thanks to their lavish expenditures in the halls of Congress, they had "little trouble in getting the ear of the powers that be."[5]

Payne challenged the government's policies and the cattlemen's preeminence in the Outlet in several ways. He hurled invective through the columns of the boomer newspaper, the *Oklahoma War Chief*. He wrote letters of protest to the Secretary of the Interior, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Commissioner of the General Land Office, the Secretary of War, and to countless journals offering to prove "before any Congressional Committee, or . . . U. S. Court having jurisdiction of the matter" the existence of a "corruption fund in Washington, D. C." that was used by Outlet cattlemen to buy government support for their lease.[6] But the tactic he found most successful was outright invasion of Indian land.

David Payne became the Army's peculiar problem. Charged with the task of protecting Indian land from unauthorized intrusion, cavalrymen had long been accustomed to trailing offending homesteaders and stockmen—those who grazed their cattle without tribal permission—and escorting them back to the border; but Payne was a new experience. Despite proclamations issued by President Rutherford B. Hayes in 1879 and 1880, warning "certain evil-disposed persons" of the inadvisability of settling on Indian domain, Payne entered Indian Territory and was arrested there four times between May 19, 1880, and August 28, 1882.[7] During 1883, his forays occurred so frequently that the War Department lost count of them.[8] Military and civilian officials alike bemoaned the absence of stringent laws against entering Indian land, and John Q. Tufts, of the Union Agency at Musko-

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[4] See "Col. Boudinot's letter, showing the status of the United States Lands in the Indian Territory" (Printed circular, Boomer Literature File, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Library, Norman). Also, see H. M. Teller to Edward Fenlon, April 4, 1883. U. S. Congress, *Senate Executive Document 54*, 48th Cong., 1st Sess., Vol. IV, p. 99).

[5] "To Our Oklahoma Colonists," leaflet, Boomer Literature File, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Library, Norman.

[6] D. L. Payne to Hon. Hiram Price, undated (received April 5, 1884).—Record Group 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Special Case No. 111, National Archives, Washington, D. C. (This case contains identical letters to Secretary Teller, the Land Office, and the War Department).

[7] Hayes' proclamations may be found in U. S., Congress, *Senate Executive Document 50*, 48th Cong., 2d Sess., Vol. II, pp. 12-13.

[8] For a convenient summary of Payne's invasions, see *ibid.*, pp. 3-8.

gee, went so far as to term the government's feeble efforts to keep homeseekers out of the Territory "a farce of the first water." [9]

In the spring of 1884, Payne made his most dramatic attempt to effect the opening of Indian Territory. Selecting a location on the Chikaskia River in the Cherokee Outlet a few miles south of Hunnewell, Kansas, he laid out a townsite, named it Rock Falls, set up some frame buildings and an assortment of tents and dugouts, populated the vicinity with several hundred farmers and their families, and moved in the printing press of the *Oklahoma War Chief*. In so doing, he precipitated a confrontation between boomers on the one hand and representatives of the cattlemen and almost every government agency having anything at all to do with Indian affairs on the other.

On July 1, 1884, President Chester A. Arthur, in a proclamation similar in tone to those Hayes had issued, warned homesteaders away from Indian Territory, saying that invaders would be "speedily and immediately removed . . . by the proper officers of the Interior Department" with, if necessary, "the aid and assistance of the military forces of the United States." [10] Payne ignored this, just as he ignored repeated warnings from less imposing personages, and for awhile he and his colony escaped eviction, thanks largely to the Federal Government's inability to coordinate its efforts as quickly as Arthur had promised. Eventually, however, bureaucratic gears meshed, and on the morning of August 7, 1884, two companies of the Ninth Cavalry, with officials from the Union Agency (Muskogee Indian Territory), the General Land Office (Washington, D. C.) and the Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association (Caldwell, Kansas), raided the town, arrested its inhabitants, and burned it to the ground.

Connell Rogers, a Union Agency clerk representing the Bureau of Indian Affairs [11] in place of Agent Tufts, filed a long report on the raid. Assigned to the case on July 22, he had confronted Payne on July 23 with orders to move. Payne refused and produced a map indicating that the Cherokee Outlet had been

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[9] John Q. Tufts to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 29, 1884. U. S. Office of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1884* (Washington, 1884), p. 99.

[10] *Senate Executive Document 50, op. cit.*, p. 14.

[11] John Q. Tufts to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 9, 1884. Record Group 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Special Case No. 111, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

ceded to the government on July 19, 1866. Evidently, Rogers did not meet the boomer leader again until August 7, but his report does contain a secondhand account of what transpired at Rock Falls on the eve of the raid. He wrote: [12]

> Genl Hatch in company with Lieut. Finley and A. R. Green of the Land Office of the Interior Department, visited Mr. Payne's camp, and again he was formally notified that unless he removed quietly and at once from the Cherokee "Strip," that the Military would arrest him and his party. Mr. Payne was somewhat disrespectful, and said: "I could arrest you," speaking to Genl. Hatch.

This proved to be Payne's last chance. Troops arrived soon thereafter, and Rogers reconstructed the scene:

> Early the next morning, it being the 7th instant, two companies of the 9th Colored Cavalry were to proceed to "Rock Falls" and act under my direction. [13] We arrived upon the "Boomer" camps about 10 o'clock A.M., and at once commenced to "round them up." The old offenders under the law are liable to a fine of $1,000 and as they were the prominent men connected with this invasion, I arrested them and gave instructions that they should be taken to Ft. Smith, Ark. and turned over to U. S. District court for trial. Their names are, Capt. D. L. Payne, J. B. Cooper, D. G. Greathouse, J. D. Ross, J. S. Clark, C. W. Holden, S. L. Mosley and T. W. Echelburger.[14] At "Rock Falls" that day, I arrested fifty men, the women and children,

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[12] Connell Rogers to Col. John Q. Tufts, August 18, 1884, *ibid.* Colonel Edward Hatch, one of the organizers of the Ninth Cavalry, was commander of the Military District of Oklahoma, Department of the Missouri (*Senate Executive Document 50, op. cit.*, p. 5, and William H. Leckie, *The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West* [Norman, 1967], p. 7.) Payne's raids had prompted organization of the District of Oklahoma, as Secretary of War Robert T. Lincoln said, "with a view to preventing recurrence of this trouble" (U. S., Congress, House. *Executive Document 1*, Part 2, 48th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 5).

Lieutenant W. Leighton Finley, originally assigned to the Tenth Cavalry, was acting assistant adjutant-general, Military District of Oklahoma (Leckie, *op. cit.*, p. 245; *Senate Executive Document 50, op. cit.*, p. 5).

A. R. Greene, a General Land Office inspector, was assigned to investigate fraudulent land entries during 1884. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office for the Year 1885* (Washington, 1885), p. 50.

[13] Companies L and M were commanded at Rock Falls by Captain Francis Moore. (*Senate Executive Document 50, op. cit.*, p. 6; and Leckie, *op. cit.*, 250.) Section 2147, *Revised Statutes* provided for removal of intruders from Indian Territory. Those who returned were subject to a fine of $1,000 and were to be turned over to the U. S. Marshall at Fort Smith, according to Section 2148 (See *Senate Executive Document 50, op. cit.*, p. D).

[14] J. B. Cooper was co-editor of the *Oklahoma War Chief* at Rock Falls (Rister, *op. cit.*, p. 135). David G. Greathouse of Grenola, Kansas, was later cited by W. L. Couch, Payne's successor, as a potential witness to support the boomer contention that Association cattlemen secured the Outlet lease by bribing members of the Cherokee National Council. (U. S., Congress, Senate Report 1278, Part II, 49th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 458.) T. W. Echelberger became a member of Payne's "board of arbitration on land claims" soon after the Rock Falls incident. He was one of the few boomers ever to obtain a homestead in the Oklahoma District (Rister, *op. cit.*, pp. 179, 213.)

I took no note of, but suppose in all there were 150 souls [15]—with the exception of those destined to be taken to Ft. Smith, I had the rest removed to the Kansas line near Hunnewell, and they were admonished under penalty of being taken to Fort Smith, not to return, a great many said they would not, others said they would. I also took possession of a printing press, that I ordered taken down and packed, and loaded into a Govt. wagon, which will be hauled to this point. [16] The town of "Rock Falls" consisted of about four *very temporary* buildings. The printing office and one other was burned, the balance of the lumbur [*sic*] in dug-outs, shanties, and tents was allowed by parties claiming it, to remove it, which was done.

John F. Lyons, a Fort Gibson attorney employed by the Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association, represented Outlet cattlemen at Rock Falls and wrote another account of the raid. Described by Edward Everett Dale as "a man of rare tact and ability who, of course, practiced influence rather than law," Lyons had been hired to maintain close liaison between the Association and the Cherokee government. [17] His report, addressed, interestingly enough, to Cherokee Principal Chief Dennis Wolfe Bushyhead, was composed more than a month after the raid. Yet, it is considerably more detailed than Rogers' account. Moreover, Lyons disagreed with Rogers on a number of significant points, including the number of boomers present at Rock Falls, the description of the town itself, the extent of its destruction, and Rogers' own role in the affair. He wrote: [18]

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[15] Rister misquotes Rogers on this figure (*ibid.*, p. 165). Agent Tufts, in his annual report, put the number of boomers at "about 800." John Q. Tufts to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 29, 1884 (*op. cit.*, p. 99). At least one correspondent estimated the boomer population to be around 250 (See Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints, 1835-1907: A History of Printing in Oklahoma Before Statehood* [Norman, 1936], p. 397. Military estimates ran as high as 600 (*Senate Executive Document 50, op. cit.*, p. 12).

[16] Rogers' report was written in Muskogee. Other accounts mention Fort Smith as the press's destination. In fact, there is disagreement over the question of whether or not it ever arrived at either point. Grant Harris, a printer who worked for Payne at Rock Falls, claimed that the Ninth Cavalry threw the press into the Cimarron River on the way back to Fort Reno (Grant Harris, "Publishing a Newspaper in a "Boomer' Camp," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. V, No. 4 [December, 1927], p. 369). In 1934, Rogers recalled that the press was taken to Fort Smith and then to Muskogee for storage at the Union Agency (Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 397).

[17] Dale, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

[18] John F. Lyons to D. W. Bushyhead, November 19, 1884 (File: Cherokee Strip (Tahlequah) 1884, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City). Caldwell, Kansas, near the Territory line, was headquarters for the Cherokee Strip Livestock Association. Bushyhead had received several such reports. E. M. Hewins of Hunnewell, Kansas, wrote in July that "4 miles South of this place there is now some 1500 or 2000 Boomers Scattered over the Outlet." They were "Cheeky fellows" who had moved "a printing Office on the Cherokee lands to demean them and lye about your people in most Shameful manner," (E. M. Hewins to Hon. D. W. Busheyhead [*sic*], July 6, 1884, in Cherokee Nation Papers, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma Library, Norman).

In the matter of the invasion by Payne and his followers attempting settlement upon the lands of the Cherokees West of 96° meridian, I have the honor to report, that proceeding to Caldwell in company with yourself, in July last it was found that the many reports as to the number comprising the so-called Payne Colony, and which had already made settlement on the lands west, had not been overestimated when it was reported that fully 1200 persons under the leadership of one D. L. Payne had, and were attempting settlement. Steps were immediately taken to cause the U. S. Indian Agent of the Union Agency, in whose jurisdiction the intrusion had taken place, to cooperate with Genl [*sic*] Hatch, commanding the U. S. troops in the military Dist. of Oklahoma, for the removal of those intruders, and of any others who were intruding on those lands. After some delay in the matter, Mr. Connell Rogers was sent out as the Representative of Agent Tufts and the Dept of the Interior with instructions to cooperate with the troops. After his arrival it was then found that troops could not act unless by order from the Dept commander[19] and which was only issued after a delay of over two weeks, and then only upon an order or proclamation of the President of the U. S. and dated July 31st directing the immediate removal of all unauthorized persons who were intruding or attempting settlement on Indian lands in the Indian Territory. Consequently, Mr. Rogers and myself, by arrangement with Genl Hatch, proceeded next day to the military camp on the Che Kas ka River about 30 miles south east of Caldwell and 15 miles south of the town of Hunnewell—a town in Kansas and immediately on the Territory line.

The following morning with two companies of cavalry under the command of Capt Moore, we started for the principal colony town, distant from camp about 12 miles . . . At about 10 a.m. on the morning of the 7th of August we arrived at Rock Falls on the Che Kas ka River where Payne had established his head quarters, and lain out the "boomer" town of Rock Falls. We found on arrival there that not only had the town been regularly lain off but that several houses had been erected, amongst which was a printing office, from which was issued their paper, the "Oklahoma Chief," a weekly newspaper published in the interest of the colony.—a drugstore—hotel —and two restaurants, all firm buildings. The troops having arrested all persons found in the town and others from various small camps up and down the river [*sic*]. The first offenders were culled from those who could be recognized as having for the second time been caught intruding on Indian lands. The first offenders, numbering about 300 persons were then escorted over the territory line and left in the state of Kansas, and admonished not to again return, while Payne with eight others were taken into custody and started immediately for Fort Smith to answer before the U. S. Court at that place, for having a second time violated Section 2118 [*sic*] of the U. S. Statutes. After starting the prisoners we then prepared the printing press and material of the printing Office for shipment to Fort Smith and having as we supposed, carefully packed the material, it was then loaded into a wagon furnished by the Govt, and started for Fort Smith for delivery to the authorities there.[20] In the meantime the buildings mentioned, comprising the town of Rock Falls were destroyed by fire, and like unto the famous Cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, Rock Falls was soon in ashes.

David Payne recorded the day's proceedings in his diary with considerably more brevity and noticeably less attention to gram-

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[19] Brigadier-General C. C. Augur was commander of the Department of the Missouri (House Executive Document 1, *op. cit.*, p. 120).

[20] In 1927, Grant Harris wrote, "After those negro soldiers got through loading it (the press) into that wagon it was not fit for much . . ."—Harris, "Publishing a Newspaper in a 'Boomer' Camp," *op. cit.*, p. 369.

mar than Rogers or Lyons showed in their reports, but his observations are valuable for two reasons. First, he placed General Land Office Inspector A. R. Greene at Rock Falls on August 7, a point overlooked in other accounts. Furthermore, he indicated that several members of the Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association were present to assist the Ninth in removing the boomers. He wrote: [21]

> Aug 7 84 Arrested at Rock Falls by Capt Moore and other Co. 9th cav. Maj Lyons—so called a Mr. Green and one Rogers who claimed to clerk to Agent J Q Tuffs dictating giving orders &c with cattle men helping and teling who there men were and pointing ours out to the soldiers—Our people done all that could have been done without being killed—

Taken together, these three documents provide a graphic if contradictory, picture of the Rock Falls incident. That the Boomer town was the scene of widespread confusion on August 7, is undeniable. That could explain some of the inconsistencies. Certainly the passage of time between the date of the raid and the dates of Lyons' and Rogers' reports contributed minor distortions. Payne himself had second thoughts about the matter, and in September he published a longer and more detailed sketch of the episode, embellished with descriptions of brave children, unpatriotic cowboys, and cattlement hell-bent on assassination. The problem, however, appears to be that only those people who had something to gain from the raid bothered to write anything about it. [22]

Rogers, a clerk, was obviously impressed with the importance of his temporary appointment as the Interior Department's representative—perhaps too impressed to pay attention to details. While Lyons and Payne minimized his role, Captain Moore did acknowledge acting on Rogers' instructions, but even so, Agent Tufts, in his annual report to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, nei-

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[21] Payne's Notebook. Note Books File, Payne Collection, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City. Rister (*op. cit.*, p. 165) misquotes the passage and then contends that "In his diary Payne made no mention of his own arrest."—*Ibid.*, page 166.

[22] Inspector Greene ignored the raid in his annual report for 1884 (See *Annual Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office* for the Year 1885, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-53). Military reports were evidently routine (*House Executive Document 1, op. cit.*, pp. 3-27, 118-120; *Senate Executive Document 50, op. cit.*, p. 6; and Leckie, *op. cit.*, p. 250).

ther mentioned Rogers nor utilized the information in his letter. [23] Lyons, the cattlemen's lawyer, had the Association's interest as well as his own to protect, and perhaps because his job depended on his adroitness in dealing with both Cherokees and businessmen, he avoided antagonizing either side by describing possible abuses by Association cowboys. And Payne's published account of the raid must have been colored, as his activities always were, by his desire to enlist popular support for the boomer cause.

While the details of the Rock Falls raid—the sequence of events leading to it and the precise manner of its execution—will never be entirely known, several facts are clear. Payne engineered the confrontation and used it to dramatize homesteader demands. By jailing Payne and other prominent boomers, albeit temporarily, the Federal Government confirmed both Cherokee rights to the Outlet and the Association's occupancy of it under the lease arrangement. More important, perhaps is the fact that the encounter was bloodless. As such, it stands as a corrective to the unfortunate stereotype of sanguine showdowns between hostile cattlemen and antagonistic homesteaders in a dry riverbed, the symbolic gateway to the promised land or a quarter-section thereof. [24] In the Indian Territory, at least, the violence was rhetorical.

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[23] *Senate Executive Document 50, op. cit.*, p. 6, and Leckie, *(op. cit.*, p. 250), claims that Moore acted only on orders from Hatch transmitted by his superiors at Department of the Missouri headquarters. But those orders originated from the White House (*House Executive Document 1, op. cit.*, p. 118). Also, see John Q. Tufts to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 29, 1884, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

[24] Characteristic of the generalizations about cattleman-home-steader feuds that have been applied to the entire trans-Mississippi West are Everett Dick, *The Sod-House Frontier, 1854-1890: A Social History of the Northern Plains from the Creation of Kansas & Nebraska to the Admission of the Dakotas* (New York, 1937), Chapter XI; and, to a certain extent, Wayne Gard, *Frontier Justice* (Norman, 1949), Chapter VI. Typical popular distortions include the defunct Columbia Broadcasting System television series "Cimarron Strip" and Jack M. Bickham's novel, *The War on Charity Ross* (Garden City, N. Y., 1967).

THE OLD BAR X RANCH

*By Nat A. Taylor**

The Old Bar X Ranch in Western Oklahoma has become a legend in the Southwest. A considerable number of people who were associated with it in early days are still living in the immediate vicinity. There are many stories and incidents associated with it that could be related but the writer here will give only those related directly with its history. [1]

The ranch headquarters proper is located in Roger Mills County, about fifteen miles northwest of the city of Leedey, Oklahoma. This place has a picturesque setting as it is located amid a grove of oak trees around a large running spring. Oak trees are rarely seen in that part of the country but there are five varieties of them growing around or near the spring. Today, the headquarters is the center of a prosperous farming and ranching unit of several hundred acres operated by the Harrel family. [2]

There are yet two landmarks that link the ranch with its historical past. The first one is the spring which furnishes an abundant supply of pure water. This had been a stopping and a camping place for the white man for more than a hundred years and before that time was probably used as a camping spot for the Indians and a watering place for the wild animals which were plentiful in this part of Oklahoma.

The trail first became well known to the white man when travel was begun on the Old Fort Smith—Santa Fe Road which eventually led to the gold fields of California. The trail was surveyed and laid out by Captain Randolph B. Marcy and a party of Army engineers who measured its entire length with a surveyors chain in 1848-1849. The trail widened out in some places nearly

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* Mr. Nat M. Taylor of Lookeba, Oklahoma, had lived in the region of the Bar X Ranch for more than sixty-five years when he sent in its story for possible publication in *The Chronicles* some years ago. His interesting manuscript has been edited for the basic facts in history and annotations given for source materials on his subject presented here.—Ed.

[1] The writer wishes to make acknowledgements to Melvin Harrel for the loan of his manuscript, "The History of Bar X Lands," and to Dr. Wm. E. Boswell for his paper on "The Bar X." Also, acknowledgement is made to many other informants who have had connection with the ranch through the long period of years.

[2] Melvin Howell, "Oklahoma's Million Acre Ranch," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1, p. 73.

(Augusta Metcalf painting, print from The Chronicles)

STOCKADE LOG HOUSE
A Ranch Headquarters, Western Indian Territory, 1880's

a quarter of a mile wide for it became heavily traveled by prairie schooners, people on horseback and in other vehicles and on foot from the time it was surveyed until the beginning of the Civil War in 1861. [3]

This trail passed about twelve miles south of the spring and camped a few days in order to allow their teams to recuperate and to repair their vehicles. They also killed buffalo to replenish their meat supply from the great herds on this part of the country.

The spring was also used as a campground by passing and scouting United States Troops who made it their temporary base of operations. In short, it was well known as a landmark long before the period of the Civil War.

The other reminder of the past is an old log house standing a short distance from the spring. It was constructed by Jim Patterson, when the Bar X Outfit took over the ranch in 1892. This building contains two rooms with a hall between them and a stone fireplace in one end. It was originally covered with clapboard shingles, held in place by square or blacksmith nails. It was built by Jim Patterson on the homestead of his brother, Pope Patterson, which included the spring and was filed on at the opening of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation to white settlement (1892). Jim Patterson was married in the log house about 1896 and his son Bill Patterson was married in the log house about 1896 and his son Bill Patterson was born there in 1901. However, this was not the first house built at the spring for it was first used as a ranch headquarters by the Flying V Ranch which was set up in the late 1870's by a cowman who is reported to have been named Vinson from Texas.

At this time, it was the custom among some cattlemen to start up the trail with a small herd. If they could find suitable grazing land that was not in use they would stop and establish a temporary ranch headquarters where they would remain a year or two to let their herd increase and then take them on to market. Some permanent ranches were established in this way and that is how the Flying V had its start. The Cattleman would lease a body of Indian land from some Agent or Government employee

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[3] The field notes of this survey are in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society. See "Lieutenant Simpson's California Road across Oklahoma," by Robert H. Dott and "Rock Mary Report," with map in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2 (1960).

at two or three cents an acre, then he would not only graze the leased land but all of the surrounding range that he could take over without charge.

The Flying V was established from a herd that came up the Western Cattle Trail. This trail was laid out in the middle 1870's. It crossed Red River at Doan's Store, angled northwest and crossed the Washita near the Old Red Moon Indian Agency. It passed near where the town of Leedey now is and crossed the Canadian River about where the little town of Camargo was later built. Vinson originally had about three hundred head of long horned cattle when he arrived at the spring which is in a natural cattle country, but he had some friends or partners in Texas who supplied him with more stock. Cow thieves were numerous and some of the cattle were lost as strays but in spite of these losses the herd increased as the seasons passed, and he is said to have had at one time between 3,000 to 5,000 head on the ranch.

A number of improvements were made at headquarters including corrals, windbreaks, a bunk house and a two-storied log house was built on the site of the present ranch home. The creek into which the spring flows was given the name of the Flying V, a name it bears even to the present day.

The Flying V was operated some five or six years until 1884 when trouble between the ranchers and the Indians arose. [4] The ranchers were ordered to leave the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation. Some of them refused to leave without resistance. Grover Cleveland, who was President at that time, issued an Executive Order to deport the ranchers and burn all permanent buildings to the ground. The order was put into effect by United States troops that were patrolling the Territory at that time. Some of these troops established a temporary camp at the spring and remained there about three years.

All that remains of the Old Flying V is the name of the creek and a lonely unmarked grave near the spring. It will probably never be known whether the person buried here was a man or a woman.

When the ranchers left the Cheyenne and Arapaho Country by the Executive Order, a few were allowed to remain because they had contracts to supply the government with beef for the Indians. While these men were still here, "sooners" began to

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

CHEYENNE & ARAPAHOE CATTLE CO.
(LIMITED)

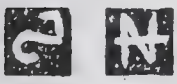
Postoffice address:
E. FENLON, Manager,
Cantonment, Indian Terry.

Known as Apple Brand.

Horse Brand.

ADDITIONAL BRANDS:

The above brands on either side or hip.



on left side.

on right side

O on left hip. BOO on side.

OBO SWM

(Oklahoma Historical Society)

CATTLE BRANDS
CHEYENNE & ARAPAHOE CATTLE CO.

come in to the country. A "sooner" was a man who slipped into the Territory before it was opened to white settlement, selected a choice piece of land, built a dugout on it and then claimed it when the country was opened. Of course, this was illegal and there were many lawsuits, contests and arguments but in spite of all of these, in many instances, the sooner won.

Several ranchers from Texas managed to negotiate leases of grazing land thru the federal authorities. One of these was L. C. Smith of Archer City who had an interest in the Bar X Cattle Company which had large holdings in the state of Texas. He secured permission to establish headquarters on the site of the Old Flying V which he did in about 1890.

In the summer of 1892, the Bar X Company sent up to the new ranch, six thousand head of cattle. They were driven up the Western Cattle Trail (or Dodge City Trail) in three herds of two thousand head each. Each herd had a complete trail driving outfit including a trail boss, a chuck wagon, horse wrangler, cook and cow hands. One of the trail bosses was Jim Patterson who was to be associated with the Bar X during it's entire nine years of operation by the Company as part owner, operator, and finally, as owner.

The first building erected was the loghouse which is still standing. Three line camps were established for the purpose of handling the cattle on the range and were furnished with a chuck wagon, cook and cow hands. A dugout and a corral were built at each camp. The first one was on Blue Cow Creek at the Dripping Springs near the Canadian River. The second was in the breaks between present Liberty Center Community and where the Town of Texmo later stood, just north of the old Santa Fe—Fort Smith Trail Route. The third camp was near some springs on Red Creed Creek just west of the Western Cattle Trail near where the post-office of Trail was later built. Each cowhand in these camps was given a certain section of range to look after.

Luke Malson was the foreman of this part of the Bar X enterprises, and a man named Chennaworth was the ranch boss who had charge of the range operations. He lived at the ranch headquarters and was paid one hundred dollars a month. The foremen were paid $50.00 and the ranch hands, $30.00 and board.

A drift fence was soon built to prevent the cattle from straying from the home range. This fence began at the river, near the line camp on Blue Cow Creek and extended in a southeasterly

direction to the divide between the Canadian and Washita Rivers; it ran east for several miles and turning north passed near the present town of Leedey, keeping along the main trail, to the divide between Powwow and Red Creed creeks continuing to the Canadian River which served as a barrier for the north side of the ranch.

This setup lasted for about three years and by this time, the settlers were beginning to increase. The cowmen did all they could to discourage the newcomers but they kept coming. The first settlers located across the river on Hackberry and Turkey Creeks, in what is now Ellis County. The first land taken was the springs, creeks and other watering places. That was especially hard on the cowman as he had to have water for his stock.

Soon a postoffice was opened in a store at the town of Ioland, in what was then Day County. This town was also on the north side of the river and the store was operated by J. R. Duncan who was appointed the first postmaster. The mail began coming in twice a week, by hack and this encouraged more settlers to come. As a result, quarrels arose between the cowmen and the "nesters," as the settlers were called and each began trying to drive the other out of the country. Home burnings, killings and cattle stealing became frequent occurrences.

The cattlemen had one advantage, under Territorial law there was "free grass," that is open range was legal. This law forced the nesters to fence their crops or have them eaten by the cattle that roamed at large over the country. Most of the nesters were very poor and since the money was in the hands of the cattlemen, they were unable to buy the materials for fencing their claims. Many of them became so discouraged after a year or two that they sold their homestead rights for what they could get, usually a small amount, and left the country.

The cattlemen had it pretty much their own way for a few years but about 1900, the nesters managed to muster enough votes to get a "herd law." This law gave the land owner the right to hold any trespassing stock for the damage done and if it was not paid within thirty days, he could sell the stock and keep the damages out of the proceeds. This procedure forced the cattlemen to take their cattle off the free range and either herd them on or fence their pastures which was a hard blow for most of the big ranches in the Territory.

The first postoffice, named Ioland, soon became a center of activity. George Harrel moved there from Cloud Chief, then county seat of Washita County and laid out a townsite. The Bar X continued to operate during this time though under different owners. Smith sold his interests to Sidney Webb, who in turn sold out to Watkins. Jim Patterson filed on a quarter section of land on Flying V Creek below the spring having bought out his brother who had the quarter on which the spring was located. He also bought out Watkins and became the owner as well as the foreman of the Bar X.

During the height of its operation, the ranch controlled, roughly 65,000 acres of range and ran as high as 8,000 stock cows. Some of the cattle were shipped from Canadian Texas. Some of these were sold at Wichita Kansas but most of them went directly to Kansas City. The following incident happened in connection with one of these shipments. A number of ranchers, including the Bar X Owners, shipped a train load of cattle from Canadian, Texas to Kansas City and had the proceeds from their sales in currency sent back to Canadian by express. An outlaw by the name of Tulsa Jack, in some way, learned what was happening. He decided to rob the train when it came in. He gathered a group of his henchmen together and waited. When the train arrived at Canadian, a group of cowmen together with the sheriff of Hemphill County, whose name was McGee, were there to meet it. Just as the train pulled in, Tulsa Jack and his gang rode up and the fight was on. In the attempted robbery, Sheriff McGee was killed but the money was saved by the quick thinking of the express clerk, who seeing what was about to happen took the currency, jumped out of the express car on the opposite side, and ran to the Gurlock General Store, the only business in town that had an iron safe, and this foiled the robbers.

Failing in their attempted robbery, they headed back to the Territory. Three of the ranchers, Bill Kelly, Charles Rynearson and John McQuigg, all of whom were well acquainted with the country, led a band of Texas Rangers in hot pursuit. On the second day out, the badmen were sighted near the mouth of Packsaddle Creek. They had fresh horses while those of the pursuers were about played out. In the gunfight which followed, one outlaw was killed and the horse of another (Red Buck), was shot from under him and the bandit was captured. Two of the Rangers were slightly wounded, the outlaws escaped with the aid of their fresh horses and the Rangers returned to Texas.

In 1901 the Bar X was sold by Jim Patterson to Walter B. Massey.[5] Descendants of Jim Patterson and Walter B. Massey, still own and live on land in the confines of the Old Bar X.

By 1900, the original ranch was greatly reduced in area due to the many homesteads that had been taken within it's borders but it still included the spring and the 320 acres homesteaded by the Patterson Brothers in 1892. The Massey's continued to operate it for eighteen years until they sold it to George and Susan Harrel, his wife. It has remained in the possession of the Harrel Family since that time. They have improved it very much and have added more land to it until it is a modern ranch home and the pride of the Harrel family.

There are many tales and legends that center around the Old Bar X. If all of them were written about the ranch, it would make a fair sized book. With the passage of a few more years, these stories will be lost for coming generations. The Bar X had its existance in a "golden period" of American history that still lives in the memory of only a few of us.

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[5] Mrs. Walter B. Massey was more than 90 years old in 1964, and lived in Leedey with her widowed daughter, Maud, Mrs. I. T. Williams.

RECOLLECTIONS OF TULSA, INDIAN TERRITORY, FROM SISTER MARY AGNES NEWCHURCH, O. CARM.

*By Charles E. Nolan**

Introduction

When the writer first met Sister Mary Agnes Newchurch in 1965, she was living in retirement at the Carmelite Motherhouse in New Orleans. When it was discovered that she was the only remaining member of the community to have taught in the Carmelites' short-lived Oklahoma missions, Sister Mary Agnes was encouraged to recall those early days. She spoke and wrote of her youthful years with remarkable detail and accuracy. She usually had at least a hint of mischief in her eyes when she recounted her first years as a Sister of Mount Carmel.

A native of Paincourtville, Louisiana, Sister Mary Agnes was reared in the Carmelite orphanage in New Orleans after her mother's death, and entered the community of the Sisters of Mount Carmel on April 28, 1898. She made profession on July 24, 1901, and taught in the Carmelite Louisiana schools at Washington and Thibodaux before her Tulsa assignment in 1902. [1]

The Sisters of Mount Carmel came to Indian Territory from Louisiana at the personal request of Bishop Theophile Meerschaert. [2] On April 30, 1899, the General Council of the Carmelite Sisters voted to accept a school in Vinita; a few days later, the Council accepted another school in Tulsa. [3] The Carmelites agreed to staff a boarding and day school in Vinita and a day school in Tulsa for five years, although provision was made for earlier termination of the agreement in case of dissatisfaction. The two missions were to be dependent on the Mother General in New Orleans. The local parishes were to provide furnished convents, fuel and light expenses, a salary of $20 per month for

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* Dr. Charles E. Nolan, Chairman of Ecclesiastical History, Washington Theological Coalition, Washington, D. C., contributed the *"Recollections of Tulsa, Indian Territory . . . "* with annotations from the original manuscript by Sister Mary Agnes Newchurch, O. Carm.—Ed.

[1] *Register of the Sisters of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, New Orleans, La., (1825-) p. 54. Records of General Chapters and Appointments of Sisters from 1881 to 1931,* pp. 75, 79, 96, 102. Archives of the Sisters of Mount Carmel of New Orleans. These archives will be referred to as CANO.

[2] Meerschaert to Monseigneur Jean Laval, Guthrie, Oklahoma, July 12, 1902. Archdiocesan Archives, New Orleans.

[3] *Decisions of Council, II, 1896-1923,* pp. 27-30, in CANO.

each sister plus extra fees for music, painting, drawing, etc. In addition to teaching, the sisters agreed to take charge of the parish choirs. [4]

On August 23, 1899, the first sisters left New Orleans for Indian Territory on the Texas and Pacific Railroad. Sisters Lucy Dobbins [superior], Aloysia Rice, and Clotlida Cabelle were assigned to Tulsa; Sisters St. Charles Dunn (superior), Cecilia Munch, and Mary Liguori Lazaro were sent to Vinita. [5] Other sisters who were subsequently stationed in Indian Territory included Laurence Didier, Maurice Webre, Clare Coady, and Virginia Breaux in Vinita; Sisters Rosalie Loftus, Catherine Bouvier, Ambrose Sisson and Leon O'Brien taught in Tulsa. [6]

The Carmelite Sisters withdrew from both Tulsa and Vinita in the spring of 1903. Financial difficulties and misunderstandings as well as a lack of personnel led to the Carmelites' departure from Indian Territory. [7]

The following pages are Sister Mary Agnes Newchurch's recollections of her year in Tulsa (1902-1903). The text is based mainly on a narrative that sister completed on July 15, 1966. An interview on July 12, 1966, and a narrative that was completed on September 1, 1967, have been woven into the text. In June, 1968, the combined text was given to Sister Mary Agnes who made the final corrections. [8]

Sister's style has been retained as much as possible. Grammatical changes have been kept to a minimum and have been introduced only when the combination of sources or the flow of the narrative demanded a change or clarification. Some connotations have been added to the narrative.

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[4] Contract between Reverend Theophile Meerschaert and Reverend Mother Apoline (Junck), Guthrie, Indian Territory, June 3, 1899 (Vinita) and July 1, 1899 (Tulsa) in CANO.

[5] *Decisions of Council, II, 1896-1923*, p. 30, in CANO.

[6] *Records of General Chapters and Appointments of Sisters from 1881 to 1931*, pp. 98, 102 in CANO.

[7] Cf. below, page 99 concerning personnel; there was a decline in the number of sisters around the turn of the century. Concerning the financial difficulties, cf. Meerschaert to Monseigneur Jean Laval, Guthrie, Oklahoma, July 12, 1902. Archdiocesan Archives, New Orleans.

[8] The originals of this material are in the possession of Dr. Charles E. Nolan.

Sister Mary Agnes Newchurch died quietly in her sleep on April 27, 1970, five days after her 92nd birthday.

The Recollections of Sister Mary Agnes

I was missioned to Tulsa in Indian Territory in 1902, with Mother Ambrose (Sisson) and Sister Leon (O'Brien). Our trip from Louisiana to Vinita, where we stopped for ten days before going to Tulsa, was most painful and uncomfortable in an old-time train with low-backed seats and no sleeper. We travelled two days and one night in this way and stopped over part of the night in Texas when the train needed refueling.

There was no dining car so we had taken a basket of lunch as a precaution—a few sandwiches for that day with fruit and canned meats. We hoped this would last throughout the trip but, after a late evening nap, we found out that the basket of lunch had disappeared. God always provides and a priest who would not tell us his name sent us coffee and food several times during the next day.

The station in Vinita was crowded with our sisters who had been in Indian Territory for four [three] years and many of their friends.[9] The good pastor in Vinita [Father Arthur Versavel] had gone on a sick call and could not come to the station but he had provided transportation.

We enjoyed ten very pleasant days. One day, a Protestant Indian mentioned the wish to attend Mass and was told that she was welcome any time. "How much must I pay?" was the next question. "We don't pay for Mass," was the answer. The next morning, bright and early, our lady was in church and took in the whole ceremony with great interest. After Mass, she went to see the priest. "Mister," she said, "you performed beautifully this morning. When will you give us another show?" An explanation was given with an invitation to attend every morning if she wished.

The house in Vinita was very large. It had been prepared as a boarding and day elementary-high school and convent. They had practically three to four hundred pupils.[10]

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[9] Concerning the school in Vinita, cf. Velma Nieberding, "Sacred Heart Academy at Vinita, Established 1897," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XL (Winter, 1962-1963), pp. 379-385.

[10] Although the number seems excessively large, Sister Mary Agnes reaffirmed the figure when questioned about it.

Then came the time for us to leave for Tulsa, about sixty miles southwest from Vinita. Father (Versavel) had the horse and buggy ready for the trip to station and six of us crowded in. We had received message that Father Theophile would be at the station [in Tulsa] waiting. He was there with a little "jumper" and the buggy followed; he was most cordial. We soon reached the convent.

The convent-school was in the middle of the city of Tulsa with many friendly Indians as neighbors. Our school was a parochial elementary school. The school and convent were a single, very plain, frame building with just sufficient space to accomodate the number of sisters and pupils at the time. The convent provided a small chapel, a parlor, a community recreation room, a laundry, a pantry, and a dining room on the third floor. Below this was a secret cellar where the Mass wine was kept [out of reach of the Indians] for prudence's sake.

On the second floor were bedrooms, and above this was an attic for the usual convent "do-away-with" and sleeping quarters for local members in case we were unexpectedly surprised by soliciting members of other communities.

The school was on the first floor—three classrooms with plain furniture and an office.

The parish church where we went to Mass was close-by. It was very small, like some of our little chapels in the country places. Because there was no rectory, Father lived in one of the two small sacristies and took his meals with the sisters at the convent dining room.

There were about 150 pupils, many of whom were Indians. Our pupils were by no means all Catholics. We had more Protestants of various denominations. This was noticeable at the first communion preparation. A class of twelve was a good size class. But, with the help of God, it had improved and many converts were in view. However, the older "blanket Indians" did not like the sisters or even religion. The blanket Indians we knew then were a group who lived in the woods as groups of their kind and made their way to the villages or towns in the beginning of every season to buy their necessary items for that season. They always wore blankets around them—for protection against insects, they said. The mothers carried their little papooses on their backs. These little ones were tied in cases, made for that purpose, and strapped to their mothers. Everybody minded their own business

about them. The slogan was, "We are on our way, go about yours."

Sister Leon and I each had three grades and Mother Ambrose taught seventh and eighth grades. While I taught sewing to the girls in the upper grades, Sister Leon taught music and singing to the lower grades and Mother Ambrose filled in time with the upper grade boys. We had no lay teachers and Father had all he could do with three missions, about 60 miles apart.

Some of my third graders were sixteen, seventeen and eighteen years old. They were so tall that when I had to correct their lessons, I had to use a pointer. The pupils really wanted to learn; they were no problem in class and I can never remember having to give them a slap. I taught arithmetic, spelling, English, geography, history and religion.

Both schools in Tulsa and Vinita had very large playgrounds, divided for the larger and smaller pupils. Baseball and football were in vogue for the larger boys and girls.

Those large hills produced a very lovely scene with the boys and girls coming over on homemade skates in the morning when a group of them, each holding hands in line, skated down while other groups were seen coming up in the same fashion.

The first communion preparation was unlike ours in Louisiana where we have two to three hundred or more. When we were told to get the children ready for the event, what was our surprise to see twelve little boys and girls lined up for the retreat. After confessions were heard, Father jokingly said, "My neck hurts." "What happened, Father?" we asked. He answered, "I heard so many confessions." We responded, "Whoa! What would you do in Louisiana if these make your neck hurt?"

Thanksgiving was a very important day for the people in Indian Territory. Plans were made long ahead of time to have the sisters entertained by some family in the country. That day, they killed the fat calf and hog and brought in all the vegetables possible. It was decided on "first come, first served" basis with regard to the home for receiving the sisters. So many were anxious to do their share. Then the whole neighborhood was invited. There was plenty of noise all day and many old time stories were related.

Mrs. Thomas Freeman was the one to entertain the sisters. The weather was freezing cold that day so she had a roaring fire

where we sat from about 8 A.M. until 11 A.M. The airtight room with the roaring fire made us feel as though our brains were on fire. Father Theophile passed by and noticed how uncomfortable some of the sisters were so he called Mrs. Freeman to take the sisters out to see some of her litters back there. He and Mr. Freeman went up the hills for a walk. The sudden change in temperature was almost overcoming. The sons had heavy overcoats that they slipped off to wrap the sisters in. They returned to the house.

Evening came and the little spring wagon or "jumper" was ready for us. Under no consideration would those boys take their coats. Two of them on horseback followed us and when we were in the convent got back on their horses and slipped their coats on.

Our Christmas season came along and the ceremonies in church were about the same as those we have here in Louisiana. Because of the number of Protestants in our school, we had no school program for Christmas. And definitely, no one mentioned Santa Claus. They laid no importance to him.

On one occasion about the month of May, 1903, we were notified that confirmation would be given in Quapaw where Father Ketcham, an Indian Jesuit priest, would lead in the ceremonies. All schools belonging to the diocese were to prepare the children belonging to the confirmation class and would be expected to take their classes there. [11]

On the day assigned to meet, we were there late in the evening. We met with Bishop Meerschaert in the parish school where tables were prepared and the bishop himself helped in serving milk and doughnuts to our boys and girls.

We all slept on the floor in various large classrooms. The

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[11] For a more detailed account of this trip in early June, 1903, cf. Sister M. Laurence (Didier). Order of Carmelites, "A Trip to Quapaw in 1903," transcribed and annotated by Velma Nieberding, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXXI (Summer, 1953), pp. 142-167. Sister Mary Agnes was unaware of this narrative. The parents of Father Ketcham mentioned here were descendants of the Mayflower Pilgrims, devout members of the Methodist Church and pioneers on the American frontier who made the "run" on April 22, 1889, and settled in Oklahoma City. Their son William Henry attended a Jesuit College in Louisiana, was received into the Catholic Church and ordained as a priest in the pro-Cathedral at Guthrie, with the Right Reverend Theophile Meerschaert performing the ordination ceremonies. At the time of his death in 1921, Father Ketcham held first place as Catholic missionary to the Five Civilized Tribes (See a biography of Monsignor William Henry Ketcham in "The Educational Activities of Distinguished Catholic Missionaries among the Five Civilized Tribes," by Sister Mary Urban Kehoe, C.D.P., in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIV, No. 2, 1946).

boys and girls slept in separate classes and the sisters occupied the spacious office downstairs.

The next morning, the Indians were terribly excited until the Mass bell rang and all went in fairly good order until Sister Laurence struck the first organ notes. Then the women stood on the pews and reclined on the back of those pews, beating their feet to the tune of the music. Some were preparing to have a dance in the middle aisle until Father Ketcham came to settle them. He spoke their own language. Everything went fine the rest of the time.

We remained in Quapaw that day and the next. Some good, civilized Indian ladies took us to visit the Devil's Promenade where the splashing of the Arkansas River had worn an enormous rock and formed a real porch almost a mile long, making it possible for a tall person to walk without touching the top.

We also visited the Lover's Leap, a very large, pointed rock, extending over the river, where two lovers on the verge of marrying and unable to attain their aim grabbed each other saying, "Since we cannot live together, we'll die together," and over they plunged into the river.

We happened to be there on Saturday when the medicine men were having their meeting. Mrs. Kelly, who so kindly took us around, went to the chief and asked that we be allowed to attend their prayer meeting in the tent and she took us in through a flap in the tent. We were offered seats on the ground with the chief who was about to give the signal for prayer.

He announced something and beat the drum to the tune of something they were saying. Heads, eyes, mouths, hands and feet moved at the same time by all who were in [the tent] and it was packed with women, children, grown boys and girls and an Indian delegation who attended the chief. In the center was a large cement horseshoe, at the head was a crucifix and between these was a fire where all who brought anything purified their donations over the fire, made their offering to the crucifix and left it there as a donation. These donations consisted of bags of candy, fruit, toys, etc.

Now and then they brought in a man who had used the medicine (I call it dope). When they rallied from this, they were carried in, swung over the fire to be purified and presented to the chief to tell him what sort of dream they had. If the dream was

good, they were given a place of honor near the chief and so on with each dream. Father Ketcham told us that he was trying to influence these good people to give up the custom but so far had reached nowhere.

Mother St. Patrick [12] wrote us that we had to come back to Louisiana. She said that there were not enough sisters for our houses in Louisiana. We all loved Indian Territory and hated to leave it.

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[12] Sister St. Patrick Heffernan was superior general of the Sisters of Mount Carmel from 1894 to 1897 and again from 1901 to 1907.

CASCORILLO: ARCHAEOLOGICAL FACT OR ROMANTIC FANTASY?

*By Harold N. Ottaway**

The sole piece of documentation for "Cascorillo" seems to be the front page article appearing in the August 30, 1895, issue of *The Herald-Sentinel* of Cloud Chief, Oklahoma Territory. Subsequent references to "Cascorillo" offer no new facts and refer only to the 1895 newspaper report. It was one of these more recent accounts that led to the eventual investigation.

The seemingly logical place to begin is the original newspaper article:

CASCORILLO. The ruins of the ancient Mexican town discovered in the Gold diggings of Washita County.

It has long been supposed that a town had existed in this country long before title to the land had been acquired by the United States. An old Mexican known as Pedro Jaungonzales tells a story that sounds like a romance, and if not corroberated so thoroughly by recent discovery, would in all probabilities be taken for pure fiction. Old Pedro Jaungonzales is between seventy-five and eighty years old, and says when he was a boy he was captured by the Indians and brought to this country and afterwards made his escape and in his wanderings found a fort garrisoned by Mexican soldiers, and he remained with them about a year when Mexico got into war with Texas, the troops were all called home. There was quite a population of citizens that lived in a little town surrounding the fort, who occupied their time by digging and smelting out gold and silver. This story caused people to begin to search for the old town, which was located on Turkey creek, township 11 range 19. The mines had probably been passed over hundreds of times and would never be noticed more than slight rises in the ground, all covered with grass and a growth of shinery. On examining it was found that these raised places appeared at regular intervals and in rows, also each about the same size, about 12x14 feet square. Numerous streets were found, and at the edge was plainly discerned the remains of the old fort, which is about 200 feet wide by about 400 feet long, inside of which was two large buildings probably 30x40 feet, and at the other end were two rows of smaller buildings about 20x24 feet.

The fort had two openings, on the north side and next to the creek. E. A. Williams county surveyor of this county kindly furnished us a correct plat of the town as discovered, from which we get our sketch. Numerous old artifacts were found which goes to prove the story of the Mexican. A part of an old crucible is now in the possession of Judge Lamberson of this city,

* The writer's thanks are extended to Dr. Robert E. Bell who brought the Cascorillo problem to my attention and who directed my investigation. Others who have likewise offered their assistance and whom I would like to thank here are Don G. Wyckoff and the Oklahoma Archaeological Survey, the members of the Oklahoma Anthropological Society who assisted in the field, Mr. I. A. Patterson of Elk City, Dr. Robert O. Fay of the Oklahoma Geological Survey, Miss Muriel H. Wright, Mrs. Manon Atkins, and Mrs. Louise Cook of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Margaret C. Blaker of the National Anthropological Archives, Joseph G. Gambone of the Kansas State Historical Society, Dr. Myra E. Jenkins of the State Record's Center and Archives in Santa Fe, and William M. Roberts of The Bancroft Library.

which was found there. Mr. Williams has also furnished us with the plans of another town or mining camp further west in Mills county, which we will illustrate as soon as we get full particulars. Old Pedro Jaungonzales says they called the town "Cascorillo," and that mineral was mined and carried to Nacogdoches, Texas, on pack mules. The houses were evidently made of adobe, and have by lack of care and heavy rains, gradually crumbled down until now there remains only low ridges to mark the walls of the once famous town. These ridges vary in height, which would indicate that some buidings were higher than others. The streets are narrow, which is characteristic of Mexican villages, and are laid out without regard to the compass.

Digging and shipping still goes on, and as they become more accustomed to the washing, and farther from the surface the better their returns. These gold diggings will be among the greatest industries of Oklahoma.

In an effort to analyze this report, it seems important to first establish some kind of time perspective. At the time he was interviewed in Cloud Chief, Pedro Jaungonzales was thought to be between seventy-five and eighty years old. If we assume the boy was ten years old when he was captured, then we might date the "fort garrisoned by Mexican soldiers" as existing somewhere in the 1825 to 1830 time span. There is another clue. Pedro Jaungonzales indicates that he lived at the fort for about a year, and then "when Mexico got into war with Texas, the troops were all called home." Texas proclaimed her independence from Mexico in the early spring of 1836, and so this historical fact tends to point to a more recent date, say the mid-1830's.

With an approximate time reference at hand, it is possible to proceed with the analysis. By 1830, the Mexican command began to reinforce their military garrisons and to guard against further encroachment from United States settlers. It seems highly unlikely that a force the size that would have been needed to protect the digging and smelting operation at "Cascorillo," as well as the mounted guard to secure a safe trip to and from Nacogdoches, Texas, would and could have been spared during these troubled times. Furthermore, it is highly unrealistic to believe that these valuable troops would have been so far north, and literally cut off from the much more severe situation that existed to the south.

The greatest attraction of this story in 1895, and seventy-five years later is the notion of people "digging and smelting out gold and silver." From an historical standpoint, ever since the Spaniards moved into the greater Southwest and made contact with the Indians, there have been stories of rich mineral deposits and mines filled with riches. And all that the fortune hunter needed was another rumor. A careful check of the western Oklahoma Territory newspapers in the summer of 1895, shows more than a passing interest being given to stories of gold prospecting. The

Arapahoe Argus, of June 21, 1895, noted "that there is gold in paying quantities in the western portion of the (G) county . . ." *The Arapaho Bee,* on June 28, 1895, said in two of its columns:

> While prospecting for gold in the western part of this county last week T. J. Osburn and companion found the skull and a number of bones of a man; and old-style Mexican bridle bit; the blade of a Mexican sword; a pair of apothecary's balances, a hoe blade, part of the iron trappings of a saddle, and eleven Mexican silver dollars of the mintage of 1846 and 1848.
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> * * *
>
> The excitement over the Arapahoe gold mines had about exhausted into nervous prostration at the alleged mines, but in El Reno the fellows who have been reared on corn pone are still at fever heat and have been reading up on geology, minerology, etc. . . .

It seems clear that the editors of these newspapers tended to deride these reports, but at the same time welcomed the column-filling copy. More often than not these weeklies were owned and operated by editors who sought to promote their community and county. A certain proportion of each week's press run was bound to make its way to the eastern cities, and if news stories of gold mining induced further settlement in Oklahoma Territory, then so much the better.

Dr. Robert O. Fay, of the Oklahoma Geological Survey, has studied the geological formations of Washita County intensely throughout his professional career. He concludes that the proper formations that might produce gold or silver are not present anywhere in or near the area in question.

Last spring, this writer accompanied Don Wyckoff, the State Archaeologist, to western Oklahoma to investigate the Cascorillo story. We received the close cooperation of local members of the Oklahoma Anthropological Society living in the area and from the property owners. The individuals who own land in the area reported to us that there have been intruders from time to time, and because of the damage they have done to existing crops, these "treasure hunters" are no longer welcome.

The local people seemed to be familiar with the stories about "Cascorillo," but when questioned they added little to the 1895 newspaper account. While their parents had told them of the questionable fort, no one seemed to have or know of any material or artifactual evidence. As we accumulated data on Cascorillo it became clear to us that two separate sites had been described. We investigated the nearest possibility, and found nothing that would indicate an area of earlier habitation. What we were in

search of was basically what archaeologists refer to as an historic site, or one that was inhabited after Anglo contact.

Prehistoric Indian sites are often located by the presence of stone tipi rings; abundance of flint chips and broken pieces of pottery; and variations in the vegetation. Likewise, an historic site might be indicated by broken pieces of glass and of china; evidence of foundations, besides historical documents and source materials. In our search for Cascorillo, we had only one bit of source material and the local oral tradition.

Our probe was then directed to the area that seemed to correspond best with the sketch and description as given in the original newspaper account. The property owners granted us permission to search their land and directed us to the location where others before us had said Cascorillo stood. With great care we worked our way over the area searching for some clues of adobe walls and the natural debris that would be descarded by "quite a population of citizens that lived in a little town surrounding the fort . . ." The Oklahoma Anthropological Society member who assisted us searched the surface as well as the subsurface area with his metal detector. Our combined efforts proved futile. We did find however, caliche deposits in a plowed field that seemed to be in near rectangle formation. We concluded that these natural shapes might have easily been interpreted by someone unfamiliar with the local geology, or someone who *wanted* to find adobe walls as such. The caliche does have an "adobe look," but it is certainly not adobe, and there is no evidence that this caliche was used as a building material here. Some trash and debris were observed near the edge of this field, but a careful check proved them to be probably no older than twenty or thirty years old, and certainly not of the antiquity in question.

The ethnohistorian and historical archaeologist both make great use of historic documents and archival material. This investigator did likewise. Regional and national archival repositories were contacted and their materials carefully checked. Postal records for the period 1800 to 1845 were searched. Even the military records were explored, in hopes that one of the sorties made by the troops would have recorded the village. And finally, reports and reminiscences by men who drove great herds of cattle north from Texas along the Western Trail were read. In every case there was no mention of Cascorillo.

The evidence, or rather lack of evidence, would tend to sup-

port the conclusion that a *Herald-Sentinel* editor might have suspected seventy-six years ago when he said: "An old Mexican known as Pedro Jaungonzales tells a story that sounds like a romance, and if not corroborated so thoroughly by recent discovery, would in all probabilities be taken for pure fiction." The fact that there seems to be no further mention of the fort in subsequent issues of *The Herald-Sentinel,* as well as the complete absence of indicative data, leads to the conclusion that Cascorillo was a figment of Pedro Jaungonzales' imagination.

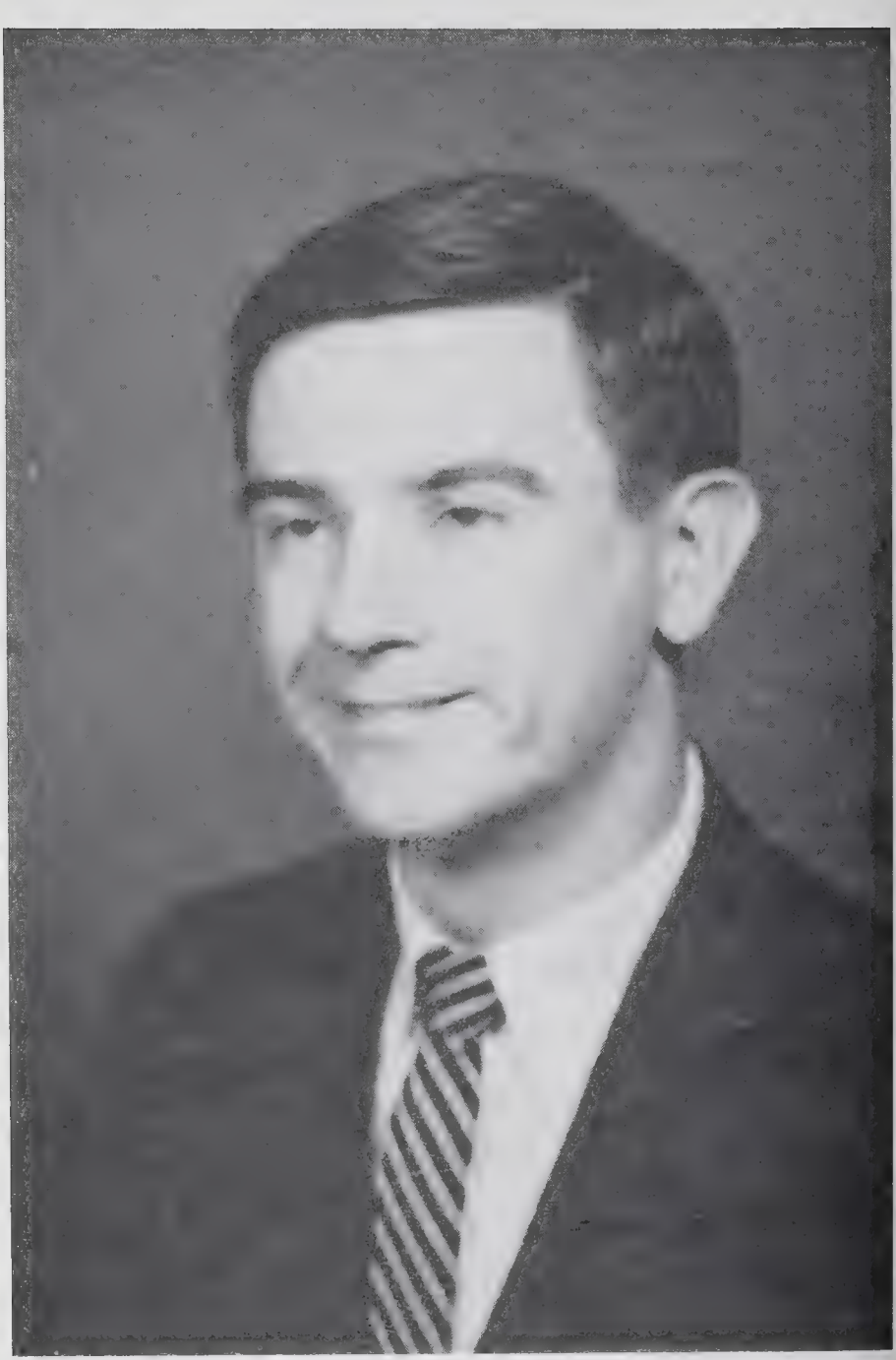
NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

A Word Of Tribute

In behalf of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* the Editor wishes to pay a word of tribute and express deep appreciation to all those whose writings have appeared in this quarterly magazine since it first appeared in 1921. Very few of these early writers of history are living now. Yet there are a number that began their work within recent years who are in their prime as outstanding writers that continue to help keep *The Chronicles* on a high level in the historical field with their articles and notes relating to Oklahoma's past. And especially warm regards and appreciation are expressed to the many fine young men and women among students of Oklahoma history who have had the interest and have been generous with their time and talents to contribute to *The Chronicles,* now in its Semi-Centennial Year.

Gary Hugh McKinney

One of the youngest among recent contributors to *The Chronicles* was Gary McKinney, an undergraduate student in the School of Journalism in the University of Oklahoma, whose paper on "Oklahoma Ghost Town Journalism" appeared in the summer issue of 1968 (Volume XLVI). Gary was keenly interested in his work on this paper. He searched the old Territorial newspapers in the Newspaper Department and old records and histories in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society, made trips of many miles to interview old-timers living in Western Oklahoma, and hunted for photographs and illustrative materials for his article. His manuscript came into the Editorial Office just before his graduation in Journalism from the University of Oklahoma, and was published in *The Chronicles* late in the summer of 1968. Word came that he was delighted with the appearance of his story. A year later, *The Oklahoma City Times* on Tuesday, November 18, 1969, reported that Gary Hugh McKinney had passed away after many months of illness from leukemia. He had been active during his student years at the University, serving on the staff of the *Oklahoma Daily* and in other student interests, as well as serving for several months as a reporter for *The Daily Oklahoman* and *Oklahoma City Times.* He was a member of St. John's Episcopal Church in Oklahoma City where his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Hardy McKinney, have their home. The *Chronicles of Oklahoma* has carried on with Gary's story something of this bright young spirit and promising writer. (M.H.W.)



(Photo from Mr. and Mrs. Hardy McKinney)

GARY HUGH McKINNEY

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Removal of the Choctaw Indians. By Arthur H. DeRosier, Jr. (The University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, 1970. Ills. Maps. Biblio. Pp. xii, 208. $7.50.)

The author has presented in one volume the first complete account of the removal of the Choctaws from Mississippi to the Indian Territory, under provisions for the general removal of the Indian tribes by the Act of Congress of May 30, 1830. The Choctaws were chosen by officials of Jackson's administration to begin the removal of the tribes from the east since they were farthest west out on the Mississippi frontier at the time in the Old Southwest. Dr. DeRosier points out this important fact and shows that upon the success of Choctaw removal rested the outcome of removing other Indian tribes from their ancestral homelands. The success of Choctaw removal would be the answer to bitter debates in the halls of the capitol at Washington, for prominent leaders on the National scene were strong in their opposition to the idea of Indian removal as immoral in principle. Success of the venture would open vast areas of Indian tribal lands to settlement by the clamoring, land hungry throngs of white people pouring west into the Ohio and Mississippi valleys from the Appalachian highlands. The young Republic would be enlarged and vast areas of new country could be developed without gunfire in a war.

President Thomas Jefferson, the great democratic leader, first set forth the idea of Indian removal before the American public. He is pointed out as humanitarian in promoting Indian removal, but as the years passed his ideas had the implication of a "human cattle drive with the white settlers pushing the Indians before them." Other leaders on the National scene are introduced up to the time of Jackson's presidency one of whom was John C. Calhoun, Monroe's Secretary of War, who had stood for a moderate course of action. He had studied the subject and finally completed the government's policy of removal, in a special report to the House of Representatives in 1818.

Dr. DeRosier gives the reactions of the Choctaws and their leaders through the thirty years that they were pressured to give up their country and move west. They were one of the largest of the southeastern tribes. They are described as brave in war, a peaceful, agricultural people, advanced in their own culture and in civilized ways from their contacts for more than a century with the trading interests of the British and the French as well

as the Spanish posts of the Old Southwest. Chief Pushmataha, the hero of his people and a leading Choctaw statesman since Jefferson's presidency, voiced his firm opposition to removal west. He signed the Treaty at Doaks Stand in 1820, by which the Choctaws acquired a vast domain in the West including all of present Southern Oklahoma bordering Red River on the south. Pushmataha died in Washington in 1824, and was buried in the Congressional Cemetery with more than 2,000 in attendance including many national leaders. Ten years later, the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit (1830) provided that the Choctaws were the owners of the western country (now southern Oklahoma) with a fee simple title from the United States. This was a great stroke in Choctaw relations with the government. However, the treaty provided for the removal of all the tribe from Mississippi.

Dr. DeRosier has given an interesting, readable story of the policy of Indian Removal from its inception under President Jefferson to the final adoption of the policy under President Jackson. The Choctaws, deservedly, are well noticed in the book since they were the first tribe moved west under government supervision. The author cites his source materials and lists an extended bibliography that will be appreciated by the student and writer of history.

There will be those, however, who will not agree with his portrayal of some of the historical characters. Yet on the whole he is fair. His last statement in the story points to the Choctaws as a proud people crushed into oblivion when they moved west never to "rise again as a nation." This might be answered in another book. The Choctaws, lived as a tribe well over one hundred years after the great Indian Removal and have had an important role in the history of Oklahoma, the very name itself of Choctaw origin—"Red People."

—Muriel H. Wright

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

A Southern Record: The Story of the 3rd Louisiana Infantry, C.S.A. By Willie H. Tunnard. Reprint of the 1866 edition by Edwin C. and Margie Riddle Bearse. Preface, Notes, Roster and Index. (Dayton, Ohio: Morningside Bookshop, 1970. Pp. xx, 581. $15.00.)

The 3rd Louisiana Infantry Regiment was activated, organized, and trained during the initial outpouring of emotions that followed secession in 1861. Men rushed to join units, hoping to be

sent eastward to take part in the Virginia campaigns, but the Louisianans were destined to see service in the western theater. It participated in the battles of Oak Hills, Elk Horn, Iuka, Corinth, and the seige of Vicksburg. Following the capitulation of Vicksburg, members of the unit were paroled, returned to their native state, and ended their adventures near Shreveport.

Tunnard was a romantic, and that attitude flows from every page. His descriptions of camp life and routine were not of the difficulties and privations that the men suffered, but of exercises in procurement of supplies by various legal and illegal methods, and of the "noble ladies" who attended the regimental drills, or who lined the streets when the unit was moving to other locations.

The combat activity of the regiment, as narrated by the author, was affected by the romantic outlook, but he does not leave the impression that war is a manly virtue. The regiment marched long distances, enthusiastically entered battles, and sometimes were withdrawn from battle under protest.

Tunnard found it almost impossible to write disparagingly about Southern political or military leaders, or about their policies. He expressed deep disappointment because the Arkansas militia either did not support them or did so haphazardly. In one portion he raised the question as to why the Louisianans should be fighting for Arkansas. He was critical of some Missourians, but generally held them in high regard, especially Major General Sterling Price.

Should the book have been written, or in this situation, should it have been reprinted? The answer needs to be yes for two reasons. First, according to C. E. Dornbush's bibliography of Civil War units, only two books directly relating to the 3rd Louisiana Infantry Regiment are known to have been written, and both by members of the unit. Second, most of the activities occurred west of the Mississippi River, specifically in Arkansas and southern Missouri. Of special significance for Oklahoma is the account of the recruiting of Indian allies for the Southern cause.

The Editor, Mr. Bearse, has enhanced the value and usefulness of the book. He has corrected various spellings, and has referred the reader to the standard sources, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies;* J. G. Randall and David Donald, *The Civil War and Reconstruction;* T. Harry Williams, *P.G.T. Beauregard: Napoleon in Gray; and Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, to*

name a few. The reprint provides a roster of the Louisiana unit, with pertinent notes as to what happened to each member, and adds an accurate and useful index. The book suffers one serious and one minor deficiency. It does not contain maps, diagrams, or sketches of the campaigns, battles, movements, or camp locations. To the reader, military history can be most confusing without some of these aids for understanding the actions described. The minor deficiency of the volume is the small print which may cause readers some difficulty.

Oklahoma State University
Stillwater, Oklahoma —Donald E. Houston

A Frontier Boy and Other Wild Animals: An Autobiography. By George B. Cole. (Exposition Press, New York. 1970. Pp. 128. $4.50.)

This autobiographical account of George B. Cole's childhood is an authentic record of rural America at the turn of the twentieth century. Born in 1884, at Le Cygne, Kansas, but moving to Indian Territory at an early age, Cole portrays many experiences of growing up on the frontier.

The description of his boyhood experiences of three quarters of a century ago reveals many childhood adventures no longer possible. He tells of the excitement of the movement to his new home, the beginning of his years in Indian Territory, the adventure of attacking bumblebees which plagued the horses during the plowing season, a family fishing trip, and the thrill of a visit to town to select the next year's clothing. Pioneer life demanded hard work, but not to be neglected was the necessity for an education. His experiences in a one room schoolhouse, so familiar to many Oklahomans, produced fond memories.

Cole has published a worthwhile, readable, and entertaining account of rural America. This book offers insight into pioneer life in territorial Oklahoma at a time when such simple experiences as school, church, visits to neighbors, and socials were important parts of the life of the community. The quaint flavor of his writing adds much to the account. The absence of illustrations and an index detract somewhat from the work. Cole has, however, produced an interesting description of early-day pioneer life familiar to many older Oklahomans. This study should be of special appeal to them.

Oklahoma State University
Stillwater, Oklahoma —Kenny A. Franks

Cherokee Tragedy: The Story of the Ridge Family and of the Decimation of a People. By Thurman Wilkins. (Macmillan, New York, 1970. Pp. 398. Illus. $10.)

This volume well illustrates the rich rewards awaiting those who have the resourcefulness, the capacity and the ability to perform exhaustive and painstaking original research. It is so easy these days to believe that all original material has long since been fly-specked and that the last ounce of usefulness extracted therefrom. Here indeed is contrary proof.

In all of the history of the Cherokee, there is a special fascination for the polished, well educated, urban and sophisticated handful of men that gave leadership, even though in disagreement among themselves, to a great nation of people. The names Stand Watie, John Ross, Boudinot, Major Ridge and his son, John Ridge, yet today are a source of wonderment and admiration. The culmination and conclusion of the public service of at least one of them ranks with the Cherokee as a national tragedy equivalent to the death of Abraham Lincoln or of John Kennedy.

Author Wilkins, although the horizon of his book is broad and extensive, weaves the main thread of the volume around the story of the Ridge family. It is both scholarly and readable. The volume ranks as a major contribution to the history of the development of the Indian Territory.

Like other well known terms, the phrase "Trail of Tears" is many times considered not in proper usage and preferably some euphemism is in better taste. With this book the gripping and literal meaning of the phrase comes clearly to any reader.

A History of the Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, 1818-1841. By Thomas M. Marshall (De Capo Press. Reprint, New York, 1970. Biblio. Maps. Pp. 266. $19.50.)

Today it is difficult to recall that all of Oklahoma's southern boundary and all but thirty-six miles of its western boundary were at one time international boundaries, confirmed by three separate treaties. The Red River, or Rio Roxo as it was known in some of the treaty documents, and the 100th Meridian, wherever it was actually located, served as boundaries between the United States and Spain, then the Republic of Mexico, and finally the Republic of Texas. The identical lines yet serve as the boundary between the States of Oklahoma and Texas.

All of this came about, of course, in the need to fix the western boundary of the Louisiana Purchase. The Treaty with France acquiring Louisiana was very vague as to the precise boundaries of the area transferred to the United States. Almost two decades were to elapse before this difficult question was resolved between the United States and its neighbor to the west, Spain.

The negotiations leading up to the Treaty of February 22, 1819, fixing the boundary, were long and tedious, with much give and take, and all mixed with a series of collateral proposals for neutral zones, offers and counter offers to purchase disputed portions, and propositions not directly related to the fixing of the boundary line between the two nations.

In 1914 the University of California published as a part of its History Series, the scholarly work of Dr. Marshall, where he chronicled in great detail the process in fixing of the exact western boundary of the United States, as it had genesis in the Louisiana acquisition from the time of the Purchase to the admission of Texas as a state on December 29, 1845.

Two portions of the work have special merit, one, the details of the negotiations with Spain leading to the 1819 Treaty, and the other, the attitude of the United States during the period Texas was achieving its independence.

Long out of print, the book has been reprinted as a volume in the DeCapo Press Reprint Series, The American Scene. The volume is a first class reference for those interested in our state's southern and western boundaries.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma —George H. Shirk

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

January 28, 1971

The first quarterly meeting for 1971 of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order by President George H. Shirk at 10:00 a.m., Thursday, January 28, in the Board Room of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building in Oklahoma City.

A quorum of members was present and answered roll call as follows: Henry Bass, Mrs. George L. Bowman, Dr. E. E. Dale, W. D. Finney, Dr. LeRoy Fischer, Bob Foresman, Nolen Fuqua, Sen. Denzil D. Garrison, Dr. A. M. Gibson, Morton R. Harrison, W. E. McIntosh, Dr. James D. Morrison, Fisher Muldrow, H. Milt Phillips, Earl Boyd Pierce, Miss Genevieve Seger, George H. Shirk, and H. Merle Woods.

Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary, reported that Lou Allard, Q. B. Boydstun, and Joe W. Curtis had requested to be excused. Mr. Phillips moved that those members who had notified they would be unable to attend be excused. Dr. Fischer seconded, and the motion passed.

Seventy-one new members joined the Society during the past quarter and Mr. Foresman and Mr. Fuqua, Board Members, became life members. Mr. Fraker, in presenting this report, also indicated a large number of gifts and books had been received by the Society. Miss Seger moved that the new members be elected and gifts be accepted. The motion was seconded by Mr. Harrison and adopted.

Mr. B. L. Lindsay was the guest of Mr. McIntosh, who told of Mr. Lindsay's writing about the Creek territory in Alabama. Mr. Lindsay has moved from Anniston, Alabama, to Lindsay, Oklahoma, to continue his research. Dr. Muriel Wright was also a guest of the Board.

Continuing his report, Mr. Fraker displayed a recent picture of the scaffolding now in place on the Carnegie Library in Guthrie. The magnitude of this restoration was quite evident.

A copy of an article appearing in *The Daily Oklahoman* referred to a visit from a Romanian museum official, who complimented the Oklahoma Historical Society for its collection of original artifacts and approved the chronological grouping of the displays. Mr. Fraker noted, however, that Mr. Stelian Popescu felt some of the cases were too crowded and thus confusing.

In giving the Treasurer's Report, Mrs. Bowman pointed out increased cash receipts for the Society and a similar rise in cash disbursements. Mr. Phillips moved that the report be accepted and after Mr. Muldrow seconded the motion, it was approved.

Microfilm Committee Chairman Phillips briefly reviewed the work of the Society's Microfilm Department and referred to the goal of 1,800,000 pages to be filmed a year. Currently, 1,200,000 are being photographed. Mr. Fraker stated that the first phase of the filming of all newspapers published in Oklahoma has been completed. This portion of the operation includes papers published before and during World War I.

Mr. Phillips explained that after filming, old papers are returned to the publishers, local libraries, or anyone interested in preserving them. Understandably, some of the older papers are in poor condition.

Both Mr. Phillips and Mr. McIntosh mentioned the growing interest of young people in some communities in learning more of the history of their area as recorded in early newspapers.

Mr. McIntosh in his Historic Sites report introduced the subject of the Cherokee Ranch lots being sold by the Society. He reminded the Board of Mr. Pierce's generous gift of this land and urged each member of the Board to sell lots, thereby stimulating interest in the project. This suggestion was put into a motion by Mr. McIntosh, seconded by Dr. Fischer, and passed.

Dr. Morrison reported on the continuing appeal of Fort Washita, the Society's most visited historic site.

Mr. Shirk, as chairman of the Publications Committee, spoke of a decision to issue a supplement to the Cumulative Index of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. A reprint of the magazine *Historia* is also being contemplated.

Miss Wright reminded the Board that this year marks the fiftieth anniversary of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. The Spring, 1971 issue will commemorate this event and will feature a reprint of an article by Dr. Dale. Miss Wright touched on the importance of *The Chronicles* to researchers of Oklahoma history.

The Oklahoma Press Association has approached Mr. Phillips about publishing an Oklahoma history, using *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* and the Oklahoma Historical Society's Microfilm Library as a source of material. It was brought out that there are no complete sets of *The Chronicles* for sale at this time. Mr. Foresman asked about compiling a book of some of the outstanding articles which have appeared in past issues of *The Chronicles*.

Mr. Phillips, reflecting the opinion of the Board to broaden the value of *The Chronicles* as an authentic source of Oklahoma history, moved that the Publications Committee investigate the feasibility of publishing a work based on articles appearing in past issues of *The Chronicles*, this report to be presented at the April Board Meeting. The motion was seconded by Mr. Foresman and was unanimously approved.

Dr. Fischer remarked on the work of a group of volunteers and docents who are working with the Museum staff to develop the educational services of the Historical Society Museum.

The delay in the archaeological dig, which is under contract for Honey Springs Battleground, is slowing the development of this area as a historic site. Dr. Fischer spoke of the limited number of people assigned to the task, and Mr. Harrison was requested to see if efforts could be made at Gilcrease to speed up this portion of the program. Mr. Phillips recommended that Dr. Fischer be commended for his article on Honey Springs which appeared in the Winter, 1970-1971 issue of *Oklahoma Today*.

President Shirk paid tribute to Judge Robert A. Hefner, Board Member, who died 22 January 1971. Mr. Shirk had visited Judge Hefner shortly before his death and recalled a remark the Judge once made summing up his personal philosophy regarding his civic work: "The service you do is merely paying the rent on the space you occupy." Mr. Shirk said that part of the annual meeting in April should be a formal tribute to Judge Hefner.

Mr. Fraker reported on HB 1130 and reviewed various appropriation items. He pointed out the need for additional funds for operating expenses and personnel.

The subject of the Old Barracks at Fort Gibson was introduced by Mr. Pierce and after some discussion, Mr. Bass moved that the Old Barracks should be permanently established as a historic site. Dr. Fischer seconded this motion and all were in favor.

The Constitutional Revision Committee report was read by Mr. Woods.

Section 8 of Article IV is amended by adding thereto an additional sentence reading:

In the event of a vacancy on the Board of Directors, the President shall announce such fact at the first meeting of the Board thereafter. Nominations may be made orally from the floor at that meeting or by letter to the Administrative Secretary in the interim before twenty days preceding the next regular meeting unless such time be enlarged by the Board. The Administrative Secretary shall review all nominations for eligibility as required by Section 2 of this Article, and shall mail the list of such eligible nominations to the members of the Board prior to its next meeting. The vote shall be by secret ballot and the nominee receiving the majority vote shall be seated as Director. In the event of a plurality only, the winner shall be determined by a run-off ballot between the two nominees receiving the highest number of votes.

Amend Article IV by adding thereto a Section to be numbered 9 reading:

Members of the Board of Directors who have completed the term to which they were elected and who have indicated a desire not to serve further as provided by Section 3 of this Article, may be elected as a Board Member Emeritus for life on majority vote of the remaining members of the Board. Provided, that to be eligible for such emeritus membership such retiring Board Member shall have served not less than ten years as a member of the Board with an attendance record of at least sixty per cent (60%) of all regular or special meetings. Such emeritus member shall not be entitled to hold office, to make or second a motion nor to cast a vote, but shall in all respects be entitled to participate in all of the proceedings and deliberations of the Board of Directors.

Mr. Muldrow moved that the revised amendments be approved and voted on at the annual meeting of the membership of the Society. Mr. Harrison seconded this motion and it was passed.

Miss Seger gave a brief report concerning the lack of a real interest on the part of too many Oklahoma educators in teaching state history to Oklahoma's school children. She felt that many teachers present the subject as a dry list of facts and dates, rather than attempting to give the children a sense of pride and interest in learning more about the rich heritage of Oklahoma.

A highlight of the meeting was the presentation of a copy of *The Autobiography of Charles Francis Colcord* to each of the Board Members by President Shirk. He gave a summary of the efforts involved in publishing the work and the generosity of Mrs. Cadijah Colcord Helmerich in giving a copy to each member of the Board. The book was sponsored by the Oklahoma Historical Society under the direction of the Colcord daughters and particularly Mrs. Helmerich. It was printed in a limited number, the family to designate to whom it will be presented.

It was recalled that Mr. Colcord is an honoree in the National Cowboy Hall of Fame, and Mr. Harrison moved that the Society's Board of Directors recommend that a non-competitive special award of merit be presented by the National Cowboy Hall of Fame at the Western Awards Dinner in April for *The Autobiography of Charles Francis Colcord*. The motion was seconded by Mr. Finney and was passed. Mr. Fraker was requested to convey the recommendation to Dean Krakel, Managing Director of the National Cowboy Hall of Fame.

Mr. Phillips turned the attention of the Board to the matter of the Historical Society Annual Tour. Some investigation had been made into the practicality of a boat trip on the Arkansas River Project. After considerable discussion, in which the Board was reminded of the poor attendance in recent years and the tremendous amount of work required to conduct these tours, Mr. McIntosh moved that the tour be abandoned for 1971. Mr. Phillips seconded the motion and it was unanimously approved. Mr. Phillips offered

to notify all those who made the tour in 1970 of this decision. Mr. Fraker closed the discussion by complimenting Dr. Fischer, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Foresman, and Mr. Harrison for assistance with previous tours.

The Loan Agreement between the Historical Society and the Oklahoma State Firemen's Museum for the hose cart was referred to by Mr. Fraker. Upon a motion by Dr. Gibson and seconded by Mr. Finney, the contract for the permanent loan of the hose cart to the Firemen's Museum was approved.

In his report on the Oklahoma Memorial Association, Mr. Shirk told of the gift, and last legal act, of Judge Hefner of his home and all its furnishings to the Association. In view of this, Mr. Phillips, vice president of the Historical Society, recommended that the committee working with the Memorial Association be dissolved. It was to be understood, however, that the Oklahoma Historical Society would continue to cooperate with the Memorial Association. Mr. Fraker suggested that SJR 27, making grounds south of the Historical Society Building available to the Association, be repealed. It was also recommended that the legislature should be notified of this proposal.

There were a number of proposals for Commendation Certificates. Those whose names were proposed to receive the Certificates were: The four Colcord daughters, Cadijah Colcord Helmerich, 2300 Riverside Drive, Tulsa; Caroline Colcord Bates, 2300 Riverside Drive, Tulsa; Harriet Colcord White, Oklahoma Continental Apartments, Oklahoma City; Marguerite Colcord Callahan, 5438 North Harvey, Oklahoma City; Explorer Post 181, Last Frontier Council, B.S.A., for establishing the Rock Mary Hiking Trail; Phil Harris, City Editor of the "Muskogee Phoenix and Times-Democratic," Muskogee; Susan Keats and Barbara Thompson of Oklahoma City for their volunteer work with the Historical Society's educational program; David Randolph Milsten, 3905 South Florence Place, Tulsa, author of "Thomas Gilcrease"; and Nola Rigdon of Crescent for having attended all of the Oklahoma Historical Society's Annual Tours. The Board unanimously approved a motion by Mr. Phillips, and seconded by Mr. Bass, to issue the Society's Certificate to those who had been nominated.

Mr. Shirk signified that he would write Governor David Hall advising him of the Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society to be held Thursday, April 20, 1971, at 9:30 a.m. in the Historical Building Auditorium. At the meeting, the portrait of Oklahoma Territorial Governor William M. Jenkins will be formally presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society by Mr. Bob Wooten, grandson of Governor Jenkins.

A tribute will be paid at the April meeting to Judge Hefner and R. G. Miller, Board members who died during the past year.

The daughters of Charles Colcord will be invited to attend the Annual Meeting, as will members of the Jenkins family.

Mr. Shirk pointed out that one of Governor Dewey Bartlett's last official acts as Governor was to confirm the historic exhibit at the Governor's House displaying artifacts belonging to each of the former governors and used while in office, and to confirm that all items he had received while in office be given to the Oklahoma Historical Society, including the "Moon Rocks" and the flags used by the astronauts on their space flights.

By custom, those to be nominated to fill the vacancy left by a deceased member of the Board must have their names submitted no later than twenty (20) days before the next Annual Meeting. This custom will continue to be followed and Mr. Fraker will advise Board members of all names suggested twenty days before the April meeting.

In the National Historic Preservation Act Report, Mr. Shirk as State Liaison Officer reminded the Board of funds available on a matching fund basis. Dr. Morrison then moved that the Minutes of the January 23,

1969, Board Meeting be amended by substituting $200,000.00 for the $100,000. figure shown as the third amount in the five-year matching funds plan. Mr. McIntosh seconded the motion and all approved.

President Shirk asked permission of the Board to go to Washington, D. C., the week of February 1, as a delegate to a national conference on the Historic Preservation Act. Sen. Garrison made a motion that the Board authorize Mr. Shirk's trip, with expenses to be paid by the Society. Mrs. Bowman seconded the motion and it was passed. Mr. Phillips urged that the Board and Society officials give all possible support to Mr. Shirk in this undertaking. Mr. Muldrow put this suggestion in the form of a motion, it was seconded by Dr. Fischer and passed.

Mr. Phillips informed the Board that a letter has been received from President Nixon expressing regret that there were no vacancies remaining on the Board for the American Revolutionary Bicentennial Celebration. This was in answer to a resolution forwarded to Mr. Nixon by the Historical Society Board requesting that Mr. Shirk be appointed to the National Board for this Celebration.

Several members of the Oklahoma Historical Society staff are doing graduate work in their respective fields, according to Dr. Gibson. He pointed out that some state societies subsidize members of their staff endeavoring to advance their education. A committee was appointed, consisting of Dr. Gibson, Dr. Fischer and Dr. Morrison to investigate this possibility for the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mr. Bass moved that this committee should study the academic improvement of the staff with a view to giving financial support to those enrolled in graduate work. Mr. Woods seconded the motion and it was adopted.

A Revised Edition of *Oklahoma Place Names* is being compiled by Mr. Shirk, who distributed to each member of the Board a copy of a list of place names as yet not identified. Mr. Phillips moved that Mr. Fraker use the facilities of the Oklahoma Historical Society to mail to each member of the Society living in Oklahoma a copy of the list, in an effort to complete this work. The motion was seconded by Dr. Fischer and passed.

Mr. Muldrow advised the Board that Dr. Gibson has written a book entitled, *The Chickasaws*. It will be published in April of this year.

The Board then heard a report by President Shirk on the proposed restoration by the Oklahoma Historical Society of "Old Central", one of the original buildings on the campus of Oklahoma State University. In meetings of Mr. Shirk and Dr. Robert B. Kamm, President of the University, and an exchange of correspondence with the University's Board of Regents, it is felt that the funds for this work should come from sources outside the regular budget of the Society.

The final act of the January Meeting was the re-election of those members of the Board whose terms expired January, 1971. The following members, therefore, were unanimously re-elected to serve until January, 1976: Miss Genevieve Seger, H. Milt Phillips, H. Merle Woods, George H. Shirk, and A. M. Gibson.

Having completed its business, Dr. Fischer moved that the Board adjourn at 12:30 p.m., Mr. Woods seconded the motion and it was passed.

ELMER L. FRAKER,
Administrative Secretary

GEORGE H. SHIRK,
President

GIFT LIST FOR FOURTH QUARTER, 1970-1971

Hastain's Township Plats of the Creek Nation, 1910.
Maps of Muskogee, Oklahoma, 1917 by Kelley Map Co. of Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Donor: Robert Rowe, Frankfort, Kentucky through the Kentucky Historical Society.

Oklahoma's First Aeronautical Chart, 1970.
Donor: Oklahoma Aeronautics Commission, Sequoyah Bldg., Oklahoma City, Okla.

A Descriptive Checklist of Acquisitions of the Archives of Industrial Society, 1963-1968.
Donor: Hillman Library of University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.

The Mays Family by Ivan K. Mays, 1970.
Donor: Author, of Austin, Texas.

Proceedings of the Seventy-Sixth Annual Convention Oklahoma State Firefighters Assoc., Muskogee, Oklahoma, June 4-6, 1970.
The Will Rogers Papers, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma.
Program of United States Army Reserve School, Change of Command Ceremony, May 17, 1970.
Application for Federal Regional Recognition, Okla. County 4-C Program, Sept. 22, 1970.
The Green Country Gazette, Bartlesville, Oklahoma, 1970.
Moccasins to Metropolis, The Fourth National Bank of Tulsa, Okla.
In Pursuit of Credibility and Consistency of Energy Policies by John G. McLean.
"Summary Report on Feasibility of Establishing an Environmental Sciences Laboratory in Oklahoma."
American Name Society Bulletin No. 19, Sept., 1970.
"Governor's Tourism Coordinating Council" Meeting, August 11, 1970.
"The Challenge of Transplantation" by Irving Ladimer, 1970.
1970-1971 Speaker's List of Speakers' Bureau, Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce.
Toward Enhancing the Quality of Life in Oklahoma, 1970; Frontiers of Science Foundation of Oklahoma, Inc.
Military Collector and Historian—Journal of The Company of Military Historians, Wash., D. C., Vol. XXII, No. 1, Spring 1970; Vol. XXII, No. 2, Summer 1970.
"Preservation of Historic Sites and Buildings."
Map: "Existing and Proposed Ward Lines, Oklahoma City, Oct. 11, 1966."
Collection of Historical Papers, etc. Maurice B. Baldwin, Oklahoma City.
Our Polluted Planet—Ambassador College Research Dept., Pasadena, California.
Names, Vol. 18, No. 3, Sept. 1970.
Oregon Historical Quarterly, Sept. 1970.
Sydney (Australia) *Official Guide*, 1966.
Indiana Magazine of History, Vol. LXVI, No. 3, Sept. 1970.
Indiana History Bulletin, Oct. 1970.
"Mount Washington Railway Company" by Ellen C. Teague.
"Teamwork and Technology" by R. J. Wean, Jr.
"The Broadmoor Story" by William Thayer Tuft.
"The Century of Progress" by Edd H. Bailey.
"Grand Hotel" by W. Stewart Woodfill.
"The Weatherford Company" by George J. Grabner.
"Footprints on the Sands of Time" by Desales.
Occupational Wage Survey—Oklahoma City Metropolitan Area, 1970.
Historic Preservation, Vol. 22, No. 3, July-Sept. 1970.
"Progress Toward Pollution—Free Cars."
The Classic Car Club of America Handbook and Directory, 1970.
Dictionary of International Biography, 1970, 2 vol. set.
"The Dewey Hotel," June 1968.

"Tour of the Historical Society" May 21, 1966 of North Washington County (Okla.) by Edgar Weston.
"Tour of the Historical Society," May 27, 1967 of West Central Washington County (Okla.) by Edgar Weston.
Monthly Bulletin Canadian County (Okla.) *Historical Society*, El Reno, Nov., 1970.
Historic Preservation, Vol. 22, No. 3, July-Sept., 1970.
Oklahoma 1970—Sixty-Third Annual Report and Directory, Joe B. Hunt State Insurance Commissioner.
Mailing Lists for AIA's Preservation Organization of Committee on Historic Buildings—The American Institute of Architects, April 1969.
Summary Report—Regional Preservation Workshop, 1970.
An Interim Plan for Historic Preservation in Arizona, August, 1970.
"The International Centre for the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property of Rome, Italy."
"In Britain the People Take Care of Their Property" by Ben Darby.
Indiana Historical Society Lectures, 1969-1970.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City.

Southwestern Bell Greater Tulsa Telephone Directory, Nov. 1969 (2 Copies).
Donor: Miss Irene Reese, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Buffalo Bill Days—Souvenir Program, Leavenworth, Kansas, Aug. 14-18, 1968.
Buffalo Bill Days Celebration—Souvenir Program, Leavenworth, Kansas, Aug. 13-16, 1969.
Buffalo Bill Days, 3rd Annual Souvenir Program, Leavenworth, Kansas, Aug. 12-15, 1970.
Donor: Mrs. Dollie (Charles) Wamsley, Leavenworth.
The Days Jesus Died by Stanley Paregien, 1970.
Donor: Author of Bethany, Oklahoma.

The Vandever-Haworth Site by Timothy Gene Baugh, 1970; Report No. 17, Oklahoma River Basin Survey. (2 Copies)
Donor: Oklahoma River Survey, University of Oklahoma Research Institute, Norman.

Polk's City Directories—R. L. Polk, Publisher.
Ardmore: 1964, 1965, 1966 & 1967.
Bartlesville: 1964 & 1965.
Chickasha: 1963 & 1965.
Clinton: 1965.
Enid: 1963, 1965 & 1966.
Lawton: 1964, 1965, 1966 & 1969.
McAlester: 1962, 1964 & 1966.
Miami: 1964.
Muskogee: 1963, 1965, 1966 & 1968.
Okla. City: 1963, 1964, 1965 & 1966.
Okmulgee: 1963 & 1965.
Ponca City: 1963, 1965 & 1966.
Sapulpa: 1963, 1964, & 1966.
Shawnee: 1964, 1965, & 1966.
Tulsa: 1964, 1966 & 1967.
Southwestern Bell Telephone Company Directories:
Ponca City-Marland, June 1968.
Guthrie-Cashion-Coyle-Langston-Mulhall, June 1968.
Hobart-Lone Wolf-Pocky, April 1968.
Donor: Mrs. E. E. Armold, Librarian, Carnegie Library, El Reno, Okla.

The Pennsylvania Traveler, Vol. 6, No. 3, May 1970; Vol. 6, No. 4, Aug. 1970.
Donor: Betty L. McIntire Goodwin, Midwest City.

Rose Hill Cemetary, Ardmore, Carter Co., Oklahoma.
Confederate Pension Applications, 1861-1865 for Oklahoma.
Donor: Oklahoma Genealogical Society, Oklahoma City.

Oklahoma Pontotoc County Quarterly, Vol. 1, No. 1, Vol. 1, No. 3 & Vol. 1, No. 4, 1967.
Donor: Mrs. M. P. Hatchett, Ada, Oklahoma.

Guns, Vol. XVI, No. 0-02, Feb. 1970 containing "The Guns of Tom Mix" by George E. Virgines.
Bartlesville's *Examiner-Enterprise* Souvenir Edition featuring Tom Mix Museum Dewey, Oklahoma.
The Oklahoma Journal, May 15, 1970 featuring Yvonne Chouteau article.
Oklahoman Orbit Section, May 17, 1970.
Donor: Mrs. Zebalene M. Ramsey, Oklahoma City.

Prehistoric Villages in Eastern Nebraska by David Mayer Gradwohl, Publications in Anthropology, Number Four, Nebraska State Historical Society.
Donor: Author and Nebraska State Historical Society.

Personnel Directory, 1970-1971, Oklahoma City Public Schools.
Donor: Bill J. Lillard, Supt. Oklahoma City.

Oklahoma Hereford Association Directory, 1970-1971.
Donor: Hereford Association, Oklahoma City.

The Birth of Oklahoma City, compiled by Freda T. Cavnar, 1970.
Donor: Mrs. Byron P. Cavnar, Oklahoma City.

Douglas Airview News, Oklahoma City, 1943-1944.
Douglas Airview News, Oklahoma City, 1944-1945.
Douglas Airview News, Oklahoma City, 1945.
Donor: Mrs. H. Travis Brown, Oklahoma City.

Cherokee Notes by James Carselowey, 1960; xeroxed copy.
Donor: Mrs. Robert L. Atkins, Oklahoma City.

Hargrave Family Lineage—Descendants of John William Hargrave and Willie Emerson Farmer. Booklet #1, No. 51, May 1970; *Washburn Family Lineage*—Descendants of Cephas Washburn and Abigail Woodward, Pioneer Missionaries to Cherokee Indians—Booklet #3, No. 56, 1970.
Donor: Emily Holmes Howell, Author, El Paso, Texas.

Political Death by Assassin's Bullet—The Story of William M. Jenkins and His Family, by his son, W. W. Jenkins, Nov. 1, 1970.
Donor: Author, Denver, Colorado.

Listing of Confederate Indians of First Seminole Mounted Volunteers, C.S.A.-The Indian Territory, 1861-1865.
Donor: John C. Grady, Jr., Palm-Bay, Florida.

The Antler, [Yearbook of Deer Creek] for 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1958, 1959, 1961, 1962, 1963 and 1964.
The Choctawn, [Yearbook of Choctaw High School] for 1949.
Donor: Mrs. Alene Simpson, Edmond.

General Catalog Panhandle Agricultural and Mechanical College [Panhandle] State College] Goodwell, Oklahoma 1923-1924 to 1970-1972.
The Plainsman [Yearbook of Panhandle A. & M. College—now Panhandle State College, Goodwell, Okla.] for 1949, 1953, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1963, 1964, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969 & 1970.
Donor: Panhandle State College, Goodwell, Oklahoma.

Student Directory, 1970-1971 of East Central State College at Ada.
Donor: Loyd H. Rogers of Oklahoma City.

Personal Collection of Joe Harp, former Warden at Oklahoma State Reformatory, Granite, Oklahoma.
Donor: Mrs. William Jefferson, Elk City, Oklahoma.

See and Know Oklahoma, 1970, the Oklahoman Publishing Co.
Donor: Dr. Lee Emenhiser, Muskogee, Oklahoma.

The Jenkins Family of Virginia and North Carolina by Nettie Jenkins Bowen, 1966.
Donor: Oklahoma Dept. of Libraries, State Capitol, Oklahoma City.

Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Iowa, 1875 by At. T. Andreas, [reprint, 1969].
Donor: The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City.

"Joseph Green Family."
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Edward Heim, Jr., Des Moines, Iowa.

Ray County, Missouri—Federal Census of 1850, Transcribed & Compiled by Nadine Hodges.
Federal Census 1850, Andrew County, Missouri, Compiled by Nadine Hodges.
Donor: Theron D. Elder, Oklahoma City.

The Modesto Bee and News-Herald Centennial Edition, Vol. 93, No. 158, Modesto, California. Friday, July 3, 1970.
Donor: Mrs. J. Clyde Wheeler, Oklahoma City.

Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, Vol. XLIII, No. 108, Nov. 1970, Univ. of London.
Donor: Director of Library and Goldsmith's Librarian, London.

Genealogical History of Our Ancestors by William Kenneth Rutherford and Anna Clay Rutherford, 1970.
Donor: Authors, Lexington, Missouri.

Okie Facts—A Compilation for the State of Oklahoma, 1970.
Donor: Industrial Development and Park Dept., State Capitol Bldg.

Raymond Family Genealogy, Vol. 1, part 2 by S. E. Raymond, 1970.
Donor: Oklahoma Dept. of Libraries, State Capitol.

Tombstone Inscriptions of Christian County, Missouri by Jacqueline H. Williams and Betty Harvey Williams, 1969.
Donor: Mrs. J. R. Donnell, Edmond.

Photograph Department:
Large photograph of Zack Mulhall, autographed.
Etching of same photograph of Zack Mulhall.
Etching of Mrs. Laura A. Clubb of Kaw City, photograph from book.
Etching of Gov. E. W. Marland of Oklahoma, photograph from book.
Etching of W. J. Pettee, protograph from book.
Photograph of Gov. Robert L. Williams of Oklahoma.
Photographs of "Former Governors of Oklahoma": C. N. Haskell, Lee Cruce, Robert L. Williams, J. B. A. Robertson, J. C. Walton, M. E. Trapp, W: J: Holloway and Henry S. Johnston.
Donor: Maurice B. Baldwin, Oklahoma City.

Ten copies of original photographs re Tonkawa, Oklahoma.
Donor: Harold S. Fowler, Winslow, Illinois.

Five negatives of Ft. Smith R. R. History.
Donor: Chas. E. Winters of Kansas City.

INDIAN ARCHIVES DIVISION

Minutes of meeting Executive Committee, Cherokee Nation, June 27, 1970.
Donor: Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, Tahlequah, Okla.

Reports regular quarterly meeting Inter-Tribal Council Five Civilized Tribes July 10, and Oct. 9, 1970.
Donor: Muskogee Area Office, Muskogee, Okla.

"The Vandever-Haworth Site," Archaeological Site Report No. 17, by Timothy G. Baugh.
Donor: University of Okla. Research Institute, Norman, Okla.

OIO News Letter, Oct. and Nov. 1970.
Amerindian, The, Sept.-Oct. 1970.
H. B. Bass News Letter, Sept. 15, Oct. 15, Nov. 15 and Dec. 15, 1970.
Cherokee Nation v. State of Oklahoma, et al, Civil No. 6219, in U. S. District Court for Eastern District of Oklahoma (River Bed Case): Reply Brief of Cherokee Nation to Memorandum Brief of Choctaw and Chickasaw nations.
Cherokee Nation v. U. S., Docket 173-A before Indian claims Commission: Amended answer on offsets and gratuities.
Donor: N. B. Johnson, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Bulletin to the Choctaws, Sept. 1970.
Donor: Oklahoma City Council of Choctaws, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Oklahoma Genealogical Society Quarterly, Sept. 1970 and Dec. 1970.
Donor: Oklahoma Genealogical Society, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Microfilm Holdings Western History Collection, Bizzell Library, University of Oklahoma, July 1970.
Donor: Jack Haley, Norman, Oklahoma.

Indian Arrow, Alumni issue, published by Presbyterian Children's Home, Hugo, Okla.
Donor: Newspaper Department, Oklahoma Historical Society.

Newspaper clipping: "Open House set [Nov. 22, 1970], at Creek Council House.
Donor: Milt Phillips, Seminole, Okla.

Zerox copy "Old Water Mill Site near Artussee, west of Eufaula" by Jerlina King.
Donor: Mrs. Ralph C. (Yvette Looney) Ashmore, Aiken, S. C.

Oklahoma City Indian News, The, Jan. 1, 1971.
"Great Flood, The," a Choctaw story, by Will T. Nelson
Donor: Will T. Nelson, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Texas Libraries, Fall 1970.
Donor: Texas State Library, Austin, Texas

Jicarilla Apache Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 22-A: Opinion; Additional Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.
Chinook Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 234; Opinion; Additional Findings of Fact; Final Award.
Confederated Tribes of Colville Reservation v. U. S., Docket No. 178: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Final Judgment.
Creek Nation v. U. S., Docket No. 273: Opinion and order on motion to Determine Issues; Order Denying Defendant's Motion for rehearing.
Creek Nation v. U. S., Docket No. 169: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.
Absentee Delaware Tribe of Okla., et al, vs. U. S., Docket Nos. 72 & 298: Order allowing attorney's Reimbursable Expenses.

Gila River Pima-Maricopa Indian community v. U. S., Docket No. 228: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.
Iowa Tribe in Kansas & Oklahoma and Sac & Fox Tribe of Okla. v. U. S., Docket No. 153: Order allowing attorney's fees.
Kickapoo Tribe of Kansas & Oklahoma v. U. S., Docket No. 316-a: Final Award.
Lummi Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 110: Opinion; Additional Findings of Fact; Final Judgment.
Miami Tribe & Peoria Tribe of Okla. v. U. S., Docket Nos. 253, 131 & 314-D: Order denying motion for extension of time for filing appeal.
Osage Nation v. U. S., Docket Nos. 105-108: Findings of Fact; Stipulations for entry of final judgment; Interlocutory order approving Final Settlement, etc.; Final Judgment.
Peoria Tribe of Oklahoma and Delaware Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 289: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.
Ponca Tribe of Oklahoma, et al v. U. S., Docket No. 323: Opinion; Additional Findings of Fact; Final Award.
Pueblos de Zia, de Jemez, de Santa Ana v. U. S., Docket No. 137: Opinion; Additional Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.
Pueblo of Laguna v. U. S., Docket No. 227: Findings of fact.
Sioux Nation, et al v. U. S., Docket Nos. 74 & 74-B: Opinion; Order.
Sioux Nation, et al, & Yankton Sioux Tribe v. U. S., Docket Nos. 74, 332-C: Opinion; Additional Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order; Order; Opinion.
Sioux Nation & Yankton Sioux v. U. S., Docket No. 332-C: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Interlocutory order.
Sisseton & Wahpeton Tribes v. U. S., Docket No. 142: Order amending Findings of Fact and awarding balance of attorney fees.
S'Klallam Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 134: Opinion; Additional Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.
Upper Skagit Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 92: Order allowing attorney's reimbursable expenses.
Snoqualmie Tribe, et al v. U. S., Docket No. 93: Order allowing attorney's reimbursable expenses.
Suquamish Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 132: Opinion; Additional findings of fact; Final award.
Washoe Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 288: Opinion; Additional Findings of fact; Final award.
Winnebago Tribe of Nebraska & Wisconsin v. U. S., Docket Nos. 243-245: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Final Judgment.
1970 Annual Report Indian Claims Commission
Donor: Indian Claims Commission, Washington, D. C.

MUSEUM:

Family items, including glassware, souvenirs, jewelery, toys, pictures, books, linens, and other articles.
Donor: Mrs. Alice Brooks, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Postal cards with photographs; envelopes, which belonged to donor's aunt, Mrs. Sadie Pinkerton Butler.
Donor: Mrs. Calla M. Pinkerton Parker, Oroville, California.

Quilt, handmade by donor's mother, Mrs. Ida May Featherstone McBride, late 19th century.
Donor: Mrs. E. A. McNally, Port Huron, Michigan.

Campaign material of Senator G. O. Williams, campaign of 1970.
Donor: Martha Royce Blaine, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

17th century lawbook, *Controuersia Forensis*, Negri Ciriaco, 1629.
Donor: Mrs. Ray Burns, Edmond, Oklahoma.

19th century typewriter and accessories.
Donor: Estate of Mrs. Jessie W. Diedrichsen, by Mrs. Edna Bowman, Kingfisher, Oklahoma.

Coin, Republic of Vietnam, 1968.
Donor: James I. McLaughlin, Edmond, Oklahoma.

Feather ticking.
Donor: Mrs. Katherine Arndt, Oklahoma City, and Mrs. Edith M. Layton, Pawhuska, Oklahoma.

1964-65 World's Fair Medallion; sunglasses.
Donor: Martha Royce Blaine, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Portrait of John Morgan Canon, early day sheriff of Canadian County, member of territorial legislature, and president of Board of Regents of Oklahoma University.
Donor: Family of John Morgan Canon, by Mrs. Roberta Roads Allen, Lovington, New Mexico.

Family articles, including clothing, spectacles, personal items, photograph of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Fisher, grandparents of donor, and tool catalog.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. H. C. Fisher, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Moon Rocks, enclosed in plastic capsule, presented to State by President Richard M Nixon; Letter from President Richard M. Nixon to Governor Dewey F. Bartlett, presenting Moon Rocks to State; Framed picture of Earth from space, signed by astronauts; Mace used during the Administrations of Governor Henry Bellmon and Governor Dewey F. Bartlett; Picture of mace.
Donor: State of Oklahoma, by Governor Dewey F. Bartlett (By Executive Order, dated January 6, 1971).

(Governor's House Exhibit)
Framed certificate admitting William H. Murray to practice in the United States Court, Indian Territory, Ardmore, April 18, 1898.
Donor: Family of the Honorable William H. Murray. (Ownership of the Historical Society affirmed by Executive Order, dated January 7, 1971).

Desk set inscribed with signature, "Johnston Murray."
Donor: The Honorable Johnston Murray, Oklahoma City. (Ownership of the Historical Society affirmed in Executive Order, dated January 7, 1971).

Framed banquet ticket, January 12, 1906, in stand.
Donor: Family of the Honorable T. B. Ferguson. (Ownership of the Historical Society affirmed by Executive Order, dated January 7, 1971.)

Note of acknowledgement from Mrs. McKinley, addressed to "Hon. Wm. M. Jenkins."
Donor: Family of the Honorable William M. Jenkins. (Ownership of the Historical Society affirmed in Executive Order, dated January 7, 1971).

Plaque, with letters forming the multi-directional spelling of the word, "OKIE".
Donor: The Honorable Dewey F. Bartlett, Tulsa, Oklahoma. (Ownership of the Historical Society affirmed in Executive Order, dated January 7, 1971.)

Mahogany bookends; Holy Bible embossed "Hon. Robert S. Kerr, U. S. Senator;" Book, *The Complete Jefferson*, which belonged to Governor Kerr during his term of office; Book, *Land, Wood, and Water* by Robert S. Kerr.
Donor: The family of the Honorable Robert S. Kerr. (Ownership of the

Historical Society affirmed in Executive Order, dated January 7, 1971.)

Steuben glass elephant figurine.
Donor: The Honorable Henry Bellmon. (Ownership of the Historical Society affirmed in Executive Order, dated January 7, 1971.)

Desk address book; plaque with seal of Interstate Oil Compact Commission; copy of $31 million check.
Donor: The Honorable Roy J. Turner, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. (Ownership of the Historical Society affirmed by Executive Order, dated January 7, 1971.)

Silver medal, framed, presented to Captain Frank Frantz, for outstanding leadership and heroism at the Battle of San Juan Hill, while serving in Troop A, Rough Riders, under Colonel Theodore Roosevelt.
Donor: Mrs. Louise Frantz Collins, Mrs. Virginia Frantz Scott, Mrs. Matilda Frantz Bradford, Tulsa, Oklahoma, daughters of the Honorable Frank Frantz. (Ownership of the Historical Society affirmed by Executive Order, dated January 7, 1971.)

Pair of vases used in home of Governor C. M. Barnes in Guthrie during his term of office as Territorial Governor; photographs of Governor Barnes; Christmas card from Governor Barnes to his son.
Donor. Cassius M. Barnes, Port Washington, New York. (Grandson of the Honorable C. M. Barnes)

(Sod House Museum)
Four singletree ends; header canvas.
Donor: Doyne Sims, Aline, Oklahoma.

Potato ricer.
Donor: Blanche Kirkendall, Aline, Oklahoma.

Sod plow, used by donor's father on Cheyenne Valley homestead.
Donor: Abel W. Taylor, Fairview, Oklahoma.

Book, Holy Bible, which belonged to donor's family.
Donor: Mrs. Esther Wymer, Fairview, Oklahoma.

(Peter Conser Home Museum)
Feather mattress; ten feather pillows.
Seller: Jenson Mattress Company, Poteau, Oklahoma.

Enamel coffee pot.
Donor: Mrs. Bobby Wilbourn, Big Spring, Texas.

Iron skillet.
Donor: Mrs. LeFern Pierce, Heavener, Oklahoma.

Bedspread, made by donor's mother; pair of pillow cases.
Donor: Mrs. Jimmie Moreland, Howe, Oklahoma.

Crocheted doilies; linens.
Donor: Mrs. Louise Gregory, Poteau, Oklahoma.

(Chickasaw Council House Museum)
Copies of Indian Territory maps, 1901.
Donor: Gloria L. Webb, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Photo-copy of Chickasaw Roll, Cravatt family, Field 338, September 8, 1898.
Donor: Clarence Lee Cravett, Ardmore, Oklahoma.

Metate stone, found near Bromide, Oklahoma.
Donor: Juanita Morris, Bromide, Oklahoma.

Family photographs.
Donor: Mrs. Lillian Baken, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Johnston family documents and photographs.
Donor: Mrs. Douglas Johnston Harbach, Emet, Oklahoma.

(Oklahoma Territorial Museum)
Composite photograph of delegates to Constitutional Convention, including donor's father, J. H. Young.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Damon P. Young, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Ribbons carried on Statehood Day in 1907 in front of Carnegie Library; two pair eyeglasses, made in Guthrie, O. T.; page of letter from donor's sister, describing the sod house the family lived in after they came to Oklahoma.
Donor: Mrs. Katharine E. Osborne, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Four wagons, used in the 89'er Day Parade at Guthrie for a number of years.
Donor: American Legion Post 58, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Oil painting of Haskell inauguration by Indian artist, Amos Beaver.
Donor: Donald Ferrell, Chandler, Oklahoma.

Wooden coat hanger, stamped "Webb Tailoring Co., Guthrie, O. T."
Donor: Mrs. Audra Willbanks, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Framed pictures of 1906 legislature; and of 1889 Masonic Masters.
Donor: Guthrie Masonic Lodge 35, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Books, photographs, pitcher, valise, some items brought by donor's family to Oklahoma from Ohio.
Donor: Clarice Ray West, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Certificates of appointment, John R. Abernathy to U. S. Marshall.
Donor: Joe Pierce, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Household items; brick from City Hall Building; postcard of library building.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Jack Roberts, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Framed picture of James Hepburn, early day lawyer.
Donor: Mrs. Mildred Hepburn, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Railway ticket, Orlando, O. T., to Wharton, I. T., September 20, 1893.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Rex V. Riepe, Sr., Marceline, Missouri

Collection of biographies; two teachers' records.
Donor: Mrs. Erma Worthington, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Two high school diplomas; two photographs, Mineral Wells park.
Donor: Mrs. Rovena Koetsch, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS*

October 30, 1970 to January 28, 1971

Alcorn, R. Daniel, Jr.	Shawnee
Bailey, John E.	Seattle, Washington
Ballard, Jesse L.	Tulsa
Biggs, Bobby J.	Oklahoma City
Biggs, Jack G.	Oklahoma City
Blaine, Martha R.	Oklahoma City
Bostian, Howard G.	Oklahoma City
Brown, Darrell C.	Oklahoma City
Carver, Paul E.	Neosho, Missouri
Carroll, Jim	Madill
Clark, Francile	Oklahoma City
Coad, Dr. Raylene	Midwest City

Coker, Dolores	Oklahoma City
Culbertson, Bette	Oklahoma City
Dalgarn, John H.	Bartlesville
Doles, Miss Evelyn M.	Oklahoma City
Edwards, Burton C.	Pauls Valley
Eufinger, Robert	Oklahoma City
Fiegel, Melvin F.	Weatherford
Fricke, James R.	Madill
Fusonie, Mrs. Donna Jean	Mt. Rainier, Maryland
Hampton, Ruth	Okmulgee
Harrel, Gordon M.	Ada
Harris, Mrs. Sheldon G.	Tulsa
Herreid, Marlene A.	Libby, Montana
Human, W. G.	Chouteau
Jones, Ralph Wesley	Oklahoma City
Johnson, Dr. Otey G.	Ardmore
Joseph, Bruce E.	Oklahoma City
Keefer, Theresa	Sapulpa
Kehn, Victor K.	Fairview
Keith, Mrs. J. W.	Pawhuska
Kinzer, Mrs. R. C	Morris
Loeffler, Mrs. Norman F.	Oklahoma City
Lokey, Mrs. Margaret H.	Tishomingo
Looney, Victor Nedd	Midwest City
McCollom, Walter W., Sr.	Stillwater
McDonald, Donald K.	Shreveport, Louisiana
McDonald, Walter F.	Augusta, Georgia
McIntosh, A. M.	Tulsa
Manning, Ellis W.	Brinklow, Maryland
Mefford, Arnis	Kansas City, Missouri
Morgan, Mrs. Grace B.	Cushing
Morrow, Andy J.	Konawa
Nail, John Wayne	Moore
Neill, Mrs. Harriet W.	McAlester
Oliver, Estil	Purcell
Pensoneau, Dorothy	Oklahoma City
Pontotoc Co. Hist. & Geneal. Soc.	Ada
Quimby, Daryl M.	Stigler
Rickman, Ruth	Dewey
Rogers, Loyd	Oklahoma City
Ruff, John G.	Eugene, Oregon
Rush, Glen	Ringwood
Shafer, Curtis W.	Oklahoma City
Slater, Bernice	Durant
Spore, Helen E.	Kildare
Spruiell, James Dale	Duncan
Steinman, Miss G. Roberta	Jerseyville, Illinois
Terry, Mrs. Ruby G.	Amarillo, Texas
Thomsen, Halfdan N.	Minneapolis, Minneapolis
Tinsley, Bill	Ada
Townsend, Robert Guy	Wilmington, California
Tucker, Fred V.	Kenton
Underhill, Lonnie	Tucson, Arizona
Vanderpool, Mrs. M. S.	Madill
Vowell, F. A.	Tulsa
Wieghorst, Olaf	El Cajon, California
Wilford, George M.	Houston, Texas
Wilson, Paul R., Jr.	Oklahoma City
Winters, Mrs. Jay	Altus

NEW LIFE MEMBERS*

October 30, 1970 to January 28, 1971

Foresman, John B., Tulsa
Fuqua, Nolen J., Duncan

*All members in Oklahoma unless otherwise designated.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

February 18, 1971

The Executive Committee met in the Board Room at 3:00 p.m., Tuesday, February 16, 1971, at the request of President Shirk.

All members of the committee were present. They were: Mrs. Bowman, Mr. Curtis, Mr. Muldrow, Mr. Phillips, and Mr. Shirk.

Mr. Muldrow informed the committee of the desire of the family of Alfred Naifeh, Lt. (j.g.) U.S.N.R., deceased, to give to the Oklahoma Historical Society for exhibit, on an indefinite loan basis, historical objects relating to his life and service.

Lt. [j.g.] Naifeh died in 1942 in the service of his country and the Navy Department named a destroyer escort, the USS Naifeh, for him, the only Oklahoman so honored by the Navy Department. Among the items to be exhibited would be the wheel of the vessel, which was sunk in 1966. Some of the items are in the possession of the Naifeh family and some are owned by the Navy Department. It will be necessary for the Oklahoma Historical Society to request such items from that Department. Mr. Phillips moved that Mr. Muldrow be authorized to accept the wheel and other items on behalf of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mr. Curtis seconded the motion and all approved.

President Shirk reviewed developments of the acquisition by the Historical Society of the Overholser Mansion. It will be leased by the Oklahoma Historical Society to the AIA.

The matter of the National Historic Preservation Act [PL 89-665] was introduced by President Shirk. He reminded the committee that grants would be available for acquisition and restoration of historic sites nominated and accepted by the National Register. He also explained that plans must be made for carrying out this program. He spoke of the limitations of the bill, in that grants are not made for maintenance of sites selected for the plan.

The meeting of February 2-3-4 in Washington, D. C., of State Liaison Officers for the National Historic program was attended by Mr. Shirk. He spoke of the enthusiastic response at the national level and the potential growth for the preservation of Oklahoma's history. In order to qualify for government assistance, a work program for the fiscal year 1972 must be prepared by May of 1971.

The Oklahoma Statewide Historical Survey and Preservation Plan completed in 1970 was one of the better plans submitted to the National Park Service, which is the federal agency supervising this act, according to Mr. Shirk.

It was agreed that Mr. Shirk will continue with the nomination processs for sites for the National Register, Kent Ruth will be paid for preparing nominations for sites to be submitted, and all "brick and mortar" operations will be under the direction of Mr. Fraker and his staff.

Mr. Muldrow then proposed a five-point motion as follows:

1. That for every nomination that Kent Ruth prepares he will receive $50.00 upon acceptance of the nomination by the State Review Commission, plus a once-a-month payment for all out of pocket expenses; i.e., telephone calls, maps, picture taking, et cetera, and that the form of contract be approved and Mr. Shirk be authorized to sign the same.

2. That Mr. Shirk continue as the active coordinator of the Survey regarding inventory and nomination procedure.

3. That the committee confirm Mr. Shirk's request that he be excused from responsibility for brick and mortar projects, acquisition, and restoration.

4. That the Oklahoma Historical Society staff be urged vigorously to pursue every avenue to secure the maximum matching money for specific projects, and

5. That the staff be authorized to prepare grant applications for specific projects for which development is desired.

This motion was seconded by Mr. Curtis and all were in favor.

Mr. Fraker reviewed HB 1130, the Oklahoma Historical Society Appropriation Bill, and stressed the need for additional funds for several items and particularly personal services and operating expense.

The meeting was adjourned at 4:30 p.m.

ELMER L. FRAKER,
Administrative Secretary

GEORGE H. SHIRK,
President

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publications Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are $5.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* Life membership is $100.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is $6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine (1937 to current number), $1.50. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA
1907

The CHRONICLES of OKLAHOMA

ORIDA LIBRARIES
17 1971

Summer 1971

KIOWA INDIAN BOY
JUST BEFORE HE STARTED TO SCHOOL

Number 2

Published Quarterly by the
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Published Quarterly by
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OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

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GOVERNOR DAVID HALL

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HARRY L. DEUPREE, Oklahoma City
MRS. GEORGE L. BOWMAN, Kingfisher
W. E. McINTOSH, Tulsa
EARL BOYD PIERCE, Muskogee

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1973

W. D. FINNEY, Fort Cobb
JAMES D. MORRISON, Durant
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Q. B. BOYDSTUN, Fort Gibson

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1974

JOE W. McBRIDE, Oklahoma City
E. E. DALE, Norman
HENRY B. BASS, Enid
DENZIL GARRISON, Bartlesville
NOLEN FUQUA, Duncan

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1975

FISHER MULDROW, Norman
LOU ALLARD, Drumright
MRS. JOHN D. FRIZZELL, Oklahoma City
LeROY H. FISCHER, Stillwater
BOB FORESMAN, Tulsa

TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1976

MISS GENEVIEVE SEGER, Geary
H. MERLE WOODS, El Reno
H. MILT PHILLIPS, Seminole
GEORGE H. SHIRK, Oklahoma City
A. M. GIBSON, Norman

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be sent to the Editor, Oklahoma Historical Society, 2100 North Lincoln, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105.

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THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

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ELMER L. FRAKER, Business Manager

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SUMMER, 1971

Volume XLIX Number 2

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COVER: The "Kiowa Indian Boy" on the front cover is from the original photograph by James Mooney (ca. 1892) of Guy Quoetone at the age of six years before he started to school. See Notes & Documents for cover story in this issue of *The Chronicles.*

OKLAHOMA'S ORAL HISTORY COLLECTION: NEW SOURCE FOR INDIAN HISTORY

*By Julia A. Jordan**

Oklahomans have long been appreciative of the role played by the Indian people in the history of their state and have exhibited considerable interest in the histories of the different tribes that reside here. It seems appropriate to call attention to a new kind of source material, soon to be available to researchers, which promises to add a new dimension to our understanding of Indian history. This source consists of oral history materials collected during the past three years in the course of a research project at the University of Oklahoma sponsored by the Duke Foundation of New York. Oklahoma's Oral History Project is actually one of several such projects implemented early in 1967 and aimed at collecting Indian oral history materials.[1] The overall enterprise developed from the personal interest of Miss Doris Duke in obtaining historical materials directly from Indian people themselves--materials which would form the basis for a kind of Indian history told from the Indian's point of view and incorporating, as an integral component, his unique perspective of the historical process.

The term, *Oral History*, should be explained briefly. Despite the fact that Allen Nevins began developing a comprehensive oral history program at Columbia University

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1 Other Duke sponsored Indian oral history projects were instigated at the universities of Arizona, Illinois, New Mexico, South Dakota and Utah. However each project is autonomous and has proceeded to a large extent independently of the others.

over twenty years ago, the term has only recently become of fairly widespread academic interest. A professional organization, the Oral History Association, was not formed until 1966.[2] *Oral History* refers to a kind of primary source data--verbal testimony from persons qualified to contribute first hand information concerning people, events and conditions of interest to historians. The Columbia University Oral History Program, for example, has concentrated on collecting spoken memoirs from well-known personages or persons who have worked closely with the leading statesmen, military men, jurists, labor leaders, philosophers and other prominent persons of modern times. The object has been to obtain primary data on those people who have had a part in shaping the political and cultural life of our nation, and on the areas in which these people have worked. The verbal testimony has been tape recorded and transcripts of the tapes prepared. These will be preserved in the Columbia Oral History Collection as primary documents for historical research. In essence, then, *Oral History* consists in the conscious, systematic creation of primary historical documents from tape recorded verbal testimonies.

The importance of obtaining oral history materials relating to Indian history can hardly be overestimated. Indian history has traditionally been written by white historians who, no matter how sympathetic they might have been to the Indian's cause, have relied almost exclusively on source materials prepared and preserved by whites--military men, travelers, missionaries, government bureaucrats, traders, homesteaders, newspaper men, and so on. Rarely have historians ventured into the field to interview Indian people directly or become personally acquainted with the conditions of life in a contemporary Indian community. Anthropologists have, for years, been collecting ethnographic materials, some of which could rightly be regarded as oral history (for they are first-hand verbal testimonies), but these are in the form of field notes which are often jealously guarded and rarely made

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2 *Oral History, Columbia University,* A Report Prepared by the Oral History Collection (New York: Columbia University, 1969).

available for general research.[3] Some of this data does, of course, get into publication, but usually only a small portion such as may bear on a specific anthropological problem. There is not room in the professional journals for the publication of uninterpreted field notes, and thus much of the data which Indian historians would find interesting lies yellowing and useless in musty filing cabinets.

The Oral History Project at the University of Oklahoma has been directed by Dr. Arrell Gibson, Professor of History and Curator of the Western History Collections and implemented by the university's American Indian Institute directed by Mr. Boyce Timmons. Mr. Timmons has been involved with the University Indian Education programs for many years, and is well known among the Indians of Oklahoma. The project has been oriented primarily toward developing a unique collection of primary source materials on Indian history. These materials consist of tape recorded oral testimonies obtained from Indian people who are in a position to give first hand information on various aspects of their history and way of life. The Project will continue at least through June of 1970, with perhaps an extension period for completing the index and the final transcriptions of tapes. The Indian Oral History Collection will eventually be housed in the Phillips Collection of Western History at the University of Oklahoma Bizzell Library. Although certain details of their storage and use have not yet been worked out, it is likely that the regulations governing the use of the oral history materials will be similar to those already established for other archival materials.

In working toward its ultimate objective of building a new kind of collection of primary documents on Indian history, the Project has concentrated on obtaining oral testimony in four major areas. The first consists in

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3 William C. Sturtevant of the Smithsonian Institution has called attention to the fact that ethnographic field notes constitute primary sources but as yet no archives, museums and libraries are making strong efforts to acquire and preserve these. (William C. Sturtevant, "Anthropology, History, and Ethnohistory," *Ethnohistory,* Vol. XIII, No. 1-2, 1966, pp. 18-19.)

documenting the great changes which have taken place in Indian life and culture since the end of the reservation period. Recent Indian history has been almost completely ignored in the tribal histories thus far written, yet the twentieth century is a period for which vital information can yet be obtained from persons who have themselves witnessed these changes. The second area lies in recovering as much information on the traditional, or pre-reservation, way of life as is still possible. Though anthropologists have worked with a few Oklahoma tribes since the late nineteenth century, there is still much valuable material to be collected, though much is already gone and much more will be lost forever when the present older generation has passed away. Third, the Project has aimed at obtaining information on certain phases of contemporary Indian life and culture, for knowledge of the present is necessary if change is to be understood. Furthermore, many traditional behavior patterns and ways of thought still persist, and these will help a great deal in adding to our knowledge of the past. Finally, the fourth area is that of obtaining information on Indian beliefs about the past, the conception of time in a particular Indian culture, the traditional ways of preserving records of past events, and the nature and function of oral tradition in a particular cultural setting.

The Project has operated mainly with a regular staff of two full-time and four part-time field workers, in addition to the Director and clerical workers, with special field workers being added at certain times. The actual personnel has changed from year to year according to the needs of the Project and previous external commitments of the employees. One full-time field worker, the author, has been with the Project since its inception and has a background in anthropology, having completed the course work for the doctor's degree. Two former full-time field workers are also working towards their doctorates, one in history and the other in anthropology. Another full-time field worker is part Cherokee and lives among the Cherokees in Eastern Oklahoma. Most of the part-time field workers have been themselves Indian and have been of great help in obtaining materials from members of their respective tribes.

The Project was fortunate in being able to work out an arrangement with the O. U. Summer Field School in Ethnology directed by Dr. W. E. Bittle during the summer of 1967. The Field School, primarily a training program for graduate students in anthropology, contributed fifty tapes from tribes in western Oklahoma, including a number from the Wichita, Caddo, and Delaware. Dr. Bittle also assisted the Project in obtaining further materials from the Wichita in the summer of 1968. Field work has been carried on in all sections of the state, for the object has been to include all groups of Oklahoma Indians in the completed collection.

Field workers have selected their own informants, subject to suggestions from and approval of the Director. Most of the field workers came to the Project with a background of working with Indian people and already had contacts with different tribes. The general procedure followed by field workers has been to explain the aims and nature of the Project to potential Indian informants, explore in informal conversation subject areas about which the informant might contribute testimony, and then make the tape recordings. Lightweight, battery-operated tape recorders and cassette tapes have been used for most field recordings. Most of the interviews thus recorded are loosely structured within one of the four major areas mentioned above, with every opportunity given the informant to tell his story in his own words and within the organizational framework which is natural to him. When the informants have finished talking, the field workers usually ask some questions to clarify any obscure points or bring out relevant background information, and often this exchange of questions and answers leads to new topics and the eliciting of further useful oral history materials. More than 450 Indian people have contributed to the oral testimony in the collection. Most of these have provided testimony in just one interview, but some individuals have contributed information on a wide variety of subjects in many interviews.

About five percent of the tapes in the collection are live-unrehearsed recordings of actual activities or events such as pow-wows, give-aways, song rehearsals, church meetings,

(Photo by J. Jordon, Indian Institute Collection, O.U.)

BILLY AMAUTY, THE WRITER, AND ABEL BIGBOW, THE INFORMANT, KIOWAS

Photo taken while collecting data for Oral History Project at Charlie Palmer's Hog Creek Trading Post west of Anadarko, summer of 1967

memorial observances, council meetings and other public observances where Indian people perform or take part. Particularly interesting on these tapes are the segments where Indian spokesmen recite certain versions of their history before an Indian audience. These versions give information not only on the Indian historical perspective, but also on the social functions of such public testimony and the function of "folk history" in general in providing a rationale for behavior.

All the tapes are labelled and numbered, then transcribed and typescripts of each tape prepared. Most researchers will probably prefer to work mainly with these typescripts for they are easy to handle and can be scanned quickly. However the original tapes will be preserved and stored so they can be conveniently consulted if necessary. There are a number of reasons why a researcher may wish to hear at least a portion of some of the tapes. He may want to check on the accuracy of the transcription, or ascertain for himself the informant's degree of skill in the English language, or check the field worker's style of interviewing or simply enjoy the experience of hearing an Indian tell his own story in his own words. A file of basic biographical information on each Indian informant is also being compiled, as well as information on the background and training of the field workers. In short, every effort is being made to document the collection so that it will have the maximum value for research purposes.

An index to the collection of tapes and typescripts is essential to the efficient use of the collection and is also being prepared. Most of the testimony in the collection is spontaneous and free-flowing, according to the train of thought of the informant, and not rigidly organized into distinct categories. Elderly informants, in particular, tend to digress, and though each digression may in itself be a worthy addition to the collection, the end result often is that references to a particular person or event are scattered throughout the interview. Hopefully the completed index will not only facilitate the location of materials on a desired subject, but will also pull all these scattered references to one subject together. The index listings will include personal and

place names, tribal names, and subject headings of at least three levels of generality.

By the end of 1969 the Project had accumulated over 560 tapes, representing over 1000 hours of listening time, for the Indian Oral History Collection. Testimonies from members of twenty-nine of the thirty-six tribes in Oklahoma which still retain an identity are included, and a number of references have been made also to tribes which reside outside the state or which are no longer in existence as distinct social groups. Because of the widespread custom among Indian people of contracting friendships, and often marriages, with members of other tribes, it is often possible to learn something of the history of a tribe without talking to an officially enrolled member of that tribe. The first example given here of materials in the Indian Oral History Collection will illustrate this point.

One interesting tradition in the collection is a story about how the Tonkawa obtained the peyote ritual from the Lipan Apache. The actual story is too lengthy to reproduce here, but it concerns two brothers on a war party who have a disagreement over a horse captured from the enemy. The youngest brother leaves the war party and goes off by himself to an enemy camp where a peyote ceremony is in progress. The peyote leader sees him coming, invites him to participate, and eventually adopts him as a son. The young man stays many years, learning all about peyote, but eventually returns to his own people and teaches them the ceremony. The background material on this story is interesting, however, for it sheds light on the relationships among three small tribes, two of which are virtually extinct today.

The tradition was collected from a Kiowa-Apache peyote leader. He had heard it from a Tonkawa, Railroad Cisco, who was married to a Kiowa-Apache woman and lived in the vicinity of Boone in Caddo County. Of his relationship with Cisco, the Kiowa-Apache informant said:

Railroad Cisco, he was a pretty good friend of mine. I worked with him many years. Not only his neighbor, but also in church work (Native American Church) for many years....I used to build fire and carry drum for him many times. I enjoyed working for him. He was pretty well up in age and I always have respect for my elders in this line of service.

In checking further on how a Tonkawa came to be married into the Kiowa-Apache tribe, it was learned that several Tonkawas had married Kiowa-Apache girls around 1901-05. Furthermore at least two of these women, including Cisco's bride, were reported to be part Lipan. Now some Lipan and some Tonkawa had been closely associated in Texas since the 1820's.[4] A group of Lipan had come with the Tonkawa to the Leased District of Indian Territory in 1859, when Texas removed all the Indians from the Brazos Reserve. These Brazos Reserve tribes were placed under the supervision of the Wichita Agency in what is now Caddo County, Oklahoma. The Tonkawa fled from this area in 1862 after a massacre of many of their members by a mixed force of Wichita Agency tribes. Perhaps some Lipan fled with them. At any rate, when the remaining Tonkawa were again removed from Texas in 1884, this time to present Kay County, Oklahoma, some Lipan were again included.[5] According to oral testimony obtained from several Kiowa-Apache individuals, Railroad Cisco was born in a box car during this removal from Texas, and his name commemorates the circumstances of his birth.

However some of the Lipan who had come to the Leased District in 1859 apparently remained there after the Tonkawa massacre. At least some Lipan were party to the Camp Napoleon Compact drawn up in May of 1865 near present Verden in Grady County, and part of this group of Lipan later merged with the Kiowa-Apache in 1895.[6]

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4 Andred F. Sjobert, "The Culture of the Tonkawa, A Texas Indian Tribe," *Texas Journal of Science,* Vol. V, 1953, p. 283.

5 *Ibid.,* p. 284.

6 Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951), p. 181.

Presumably the part Lipan, part Kiowa-Apache girls who married Tonkawa men in the early 1900's were descended from members of this group. According to Kiowa-Apache testimony, the Tonkawa used to come down to the Anadarko area to dance and socialize with the Indians there. They also came for peyote meetings. One Kiowa-Apache said they used to come on the train from Tonkawa to Anadarko and Apache. Molly Cisco, the widow of Railroad Cisco, says she met her husband in Anadarko. She is about eighty-six today, and is possibly the oldest living Kiowa-Apache. Another Kiowa-Apache woman of about seventy-five remembers the Tonkawas coming to dance in the vicinity of Hatchetville, near Boone:

Well, the way it is, there used to be big Apache camp over here at Hatchetville. They always have their Ghost Dance there, and people come every Saturday and Sunday. Monday they all go back home. Well, those Tonkawas come in over there. They was gonna have big dance over there. They all come here. Them was wagon days, you know. Horseback. They come down here and they all got this dancing and they give away and finally some of these girls, they got acquainted with some of these Tonkawa boys. Finally, I'd say there's about three or four Apache girls that married Tonkawas, like Molly Cisco, and Helen Williams, and Hope Berry from Fort Cobb, and Alice Taw. About four or five girls got married up there and they got bunch of Tonkawa children now and some living at Tonkawa yet. When the Tonkawas were going home, some went back with them down there to stay with them. They been married over there.

The accompanying photograph was found in the O.U. Western History Collection and was labelled, "Tonkawas dancing before a storm, September 25, 1901." It was shown to a Kiowa-Apache woman who was told only that there might be some Kiowa-Apaches in the picture. She herself suggested that the picture was of Tonkawas and she tentatively identified the man seen in profile in the middle of the dancers and wearing a bone breast plate as David Williams, one of the Tonkawas who married a Kiowa-Apache. Her comments on the picture were as follows:

You know them days they don't have benches. They don't have nothing. They just sit on the ground to do their drumming. This woman, she's got big bundle on her back. I think she's gonna give away. And this one, it seems to me like a Tonkawa man. He married Helen Sunrise and he come down here. ...Them days, you know, when they

(Photo in Phillips Collection, O.U.)

TONKAWAS DANCING BEFORE A STORM. SEPTEMBER 25, 1901

Photo identified by a Kiowa-Apache woman in
Oral History Project

(the Tonkawas) were here, they dance like that. And they wear long shirt like that. Just go below their knees. That's the way they war dance. And they have their sleeve holders. Looks like this is a war dance, the way they're dancing just here and there. The war dance, they just scatter all over. This could be taken at Captain's place. They used to have dancing over there.

Although this identification is admittedly tentative and it is not suggested that the picture was taken at the precise occasion when the Kiowa-Apache girls were getting acquainted with their Tonkawa husbands, it does seem clear that the scene depicted in the photograph was one of regular occurrence and that just such an occasion provided the opportunity for their getting together. The picture is explained somewhat by the oral testimony, and the oral testimony is confirmed and enhanced by the existence of the picture. Thus through the persistence of inter-tribal relationships established long ago between Tonkawa and Lipan and between Lipan and Kiowa-Apache, a relationship is established between a Tonkawa man and a Kiowa-Apache man, and through the Kiowa-Apache a Tonkawa tradition is obtained for the Oral History Collection. Also some substantive information relating to the fate of these small remnant tribes is gained, for it can be seen that the descendants of some Lipan and some Tonkawa individuals have come to be officially part of the Kiowa-Apache tribe.[7]

There are many other kinds of materials on Indian history and culture in the collection also. These range from true oral traditions through eyewitness accounts and personal reminiscences to certain kinds of ethnographic data. It is felt that these materials will be valuable for a number of research purposes, including the following three levels of historical approach: (1) historiography, or the integration of historical facts and events into coherent narrative form; (2) social history or culture history where the focus is upon institutions

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[7] Although the Tonkawa as a distinct cultural group are extinct, there is still a small group of individuals of Tonkawa descent organized as the "Tonkawa Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma." They numbered 60 individuals in 1968, *Directory of Tribes and Tribal Leaders of the Anadarko Area,* (Anadarko Area Office), p. 23.

or culture traits and the ultimate objective is to generalize about processes of change; (3) the study of *folk history*, or the beliefs which Indian people hold about their past and the function of these beliefs in a given cultural setting. Some of the subject areas represented fairly well in the oral history materials are listed here:

Traditional Tribal History: Calendars, Oral Traditions, etc.
Traditional Stories and Storytelling
Place Names and Historical Landmarks
Acculturation and Culture Change
Life History Materials
Warfare and Warpath Stories
Anecdotes and Descriptions of Well-Known Indian People
Missionary Activities and Christian Churches
Schools and School Experiences
Traditional Ceremonies: Sun Dance, Ghost Dance, etc.
Peyote Religion and the Native American Church
Indian Versions of Famous Battles and Other Incidents
Experiences in Farming and Ranching
Allotment of Indian Lands and Opening of Reservations
Tribal Government and Politics
Traditional Religious Beliefs and Supernaturalism
Claims Cases and Payments
Doctors and Doctoring Techniques
Contemporary Problems in Indian Communities
Inter-Tribal Relations
Indian-White Relations
Death and Mourning Practices
Material Culture and Modern Arts and Crafts
Traditional Indian Foods

There are, of course, many other areas covered but this should illustrate the diversity and scope of the collection. Perhaps it would be helpful at this point to examine the special nature of oral history materials and to consider how the testimony of Indian informants may add to the knowledge of Indian history gained from other sources.

Oral testimony, like all primary source materials, must be understood and interpreted properly if it is to be used

effectively. It may provide much substantive information on certain events and conditions, especially when it derives from individuals, such as members of American Indian communities, whose particular viewpoints are not likely to be found in the conventional kinds of written documents. But the strong point of any oral history material is that it is the product of the persons who have participated in or witnessed the particular historical events under study, and thus reflects the thoughts and feelings of the actors themselves. It is the insiders' point of view and, as such, may contain statements of motives, attitudes, beliefs and values which should make understandable much behavior which otherwise seems inscruptable. That historians have long regarded the thoughts and feelings of key actors in the historical stream as important can be seen in their great love of personal and confidential letters, diaries, memoirs and autobiographical notes as source materials. Needless to say, these kinds of written sources are almost non-existent for key Indian people and it is one of the objectives of the Oral History Project to remedy this situation for the Indians of Oklahoma.

However, oral testimony, while indispensable for some purposes, is not without its limitations and bias, and may contain information which the historian will decide is error or untruth. Therefore the usual techniques of historical criticism must be applied to oral testimony: the purpose and meaning of the testimony considered, the reliability and general competence of the informant assessed, and the testimony itself examined for internal consistency and cross-checked with other testimonies and other kinds of evidence. Without attempting to dwell at length upon the tenets of historical criticism, it should be noted that the most important consideration is the fact that Indian oral history materials are the products of another culture. The Indian people providing the testimony, though they participate in many forms of Anglo-American culture, are yet members of another cultural group in whose cultural forms they participate more fully. As such they may have quite different ways of perceiving and categorizing phenomena than white historians, and they may also have quite different standards of credibility. Furthermore they may have a different

conception of time and may show almost no inclination to talk about events in chronological order. In fact one of the main difficulties in working with oral testimony is that of placing the events described in such testimony into a chronological sequence and assigning dates according to our system of reckoning time. Fortunately most events described in oral testimony can be given at least approximate dates by using information from other kinds of sources or by relating them to events for which the dates are already known.

Of course, exact dates mentioned in any oral testimony are always open to question because of the limitations of human memory. Most pioneers or homesteaders in our own society, for example, could not, without some rehearsal, be precise about the dates of happenings of many years ago, even though they might retain vivid memories of these past events. However Indian people raised in a traditional atmosphere and without concern for measuring the passage of time may find it impossible to recall dates or give reasonable estimates of time. A Kiowa-Apache woman, speaking of a certain version of the Ghost Dance, makes a typical comment: "That's been when we were alloted, you know. Here lately, you might say. I ought to know the years, but I never could learn them." The particular Ghost Dance activities she was referring to took place around the Hatchetville community in Caddo County in the first decade of this century. More precise dates could possible be established through examination of agency records and files or local newspapers.

There are, of course, some individuals whose particular life experiences have made it possible to become extremely knowledgeable in both Indian and Anglo-American ways of life, and who can, with relative ease, provide information in terms of categories familiar to historians, including rather precise dates. Two of the Project's oldest informants from western Oklahoma, Guy Quoetone, Kiowa, and Jesse Rowlodge, Arapaho, are examples of Indian individuals who have lived in an Indian community all their lives but are, nevertheless, extremely sophisticated in their knowledge of the white man's world. They also raise a question concerning

a potential difficulty in the use of oral history materials—the possibility of feedback from works already written by historians and anthropologists. In other words, the possibility that their oral testimony is based on books they have read or information they have obtained from white scholars must be considered.

These men are remarkably similar in certain respects. Both are octogenarians; Quoetone born in 1885, and Rowlodge, in 1884. Both speak their native languages fluently. However both have received good formal educations and express themselves easily and well in English. Both men have spent the major portion of their lives in occupations where they have served as mediators between Indian and Anglo-American cultures, representing on the one hand their Indian people to the whites, and on the other interpreting the ways of the whites to the Indians. Both have achieved reputations among their people as tribal historians in an informal sense, their knowledge in this matter coming from acquaintance with tribal traditions as well as familiarity with the standard works of history and ethnology on their respective tribes. Furthermore both Quoetone and Rowlodge have been personally acquainted with anthropologists who have studied their tribes, and have served both as interpreters and as informants. (Their knowledge of tribal history, however, does not necessarily include an intimate knowledge of the ceremonial and religious lore of their tribes, much of which may still be in the custody of traditional ceremonial leaders.) It is in fact highly probable that much of their knowledge of tribal history was learned through their contacts with anthropologists, when they were in a position to listen to older members of their tribes reciting and explaining the old traditions and recounting the important events of a former era. In their mid-eighties, then, both Guy Quoetone and Jesse Rowlodge are exceptionally well versed in the history of their tribes, and their ability to recall exact dates, names, and other details is remarkable, though understandable as a result of their training and interests. Nor is it suggested that these men are unique in this respect. Similar problems of adjustment exist for the other tribes of Oklahoma and no doubt most groups have their specialists in

(University of Oklahoma Photo Collection, Oral History)

JESSE ROWLODGE AS A YOUNG MAN
HAD TO LET HIS HAIR GROW LONG FOR THE ST. LOUIS WORLD'S FAIR INDIAN EXHIBIT IN 1904

James Mooney, a Quaker Anthropologist, selected five Arapahos — Cut Finger, Mountain, Lone Man, Long Hair and Jesse Rowlodge — for the Southern Plains Indian encampment shown at the St. Louis Worlds Fair, under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution, 1904.

tribal history who also serve as mediators between Indian and white worlds.

The question which may be raised here is, what is the use of obtaining information from Quoetone and Rowlodge and other Indian people whose testimony is obviously colored by their familiarity with the published materials on their tribe and their acquaintance with anthropologists? The position taken here is that it is impossible, in this age of general literacy, to eliminate the possibilities of feedback from the historical and anthropological literatures into the oral testimony collected today. It is possible, however, to recognize the fact that opportunities for feedback exist, and be thus warned about the uncritical use of oral testimony. Oklahoma Indians today are almost all literate, and many have travelled widely and read extensively about their own tribe and about Indians in general. While their standards of credibility are folk standards (unless they are professional scholars), they are without doubt influenced by what they read. Even those Indian people who do not themselves read books of history often pick up bits of information from their relatives and friends, not to mention the mass media such as television and motion pictures. Interestingly enough, the feedback in the testimony of such men as Guy Quoetone and Jesse Rowlodge does not consist in the parroting back of published materials on their tribal history, but rather occurs in a much subtler manner, determining to some extent their choice of topics to discuss, rather than the content of their testimony concerning these topics. Rowlodge, for example, well aware of the general interest in Geronimo, told the following anecdote. It adds little to our knowledge of the famous Apache, but effectively makes the point of the white man's cupidity and indicates also the resentment which many Indians feel on the disproportionate amount of interest lavished on a few Indian individuals. Rowlodge had relatives among the Comanches and, as a young man, used to go down and visit them in the Ft. Sill area, and that is how he knew Geronimo.

Geronimo, he likes to play poker, you know, and monte. He talks fluent Mexican. He's a full-blood Indian and he's small. They (the Geronimo Apaches) had their homes there, beyond the corral, and a

bunch of Comanche boys and myself used to go over there just to be with him. We used to like to play cards. And one frosty morning just as we came out of Ft. Sill into that timber, I picked up a hawk feather that had shed from a hawk. It was about five or six inches long. And we got in there in the corner of that little old house and he was raking fire. He was all ready.

We said, "Hello, Geronimo." "Ho, ho, making fire," he said in Comanche. He spoke pretty fair Comanche. So there was some cloth there, a piece of canvas, and we spread it out. "Well, let's play cards." So we sat down. He stood there a while and then he sat down and played with us. Pretty soon a two-seated buggy drove up, with a black team. There were two men, all dressed in black, and a heavy-set woman dressed in black. Somebody peeked around and said, "Is Geronimo here?" "Yeah, he's here." They got off. One man came in and shook hands. "Geronimo, this is so-and-so from Baltimore." These folks was coming out to see him, I guess. The lady stood there. "Geronimo, do you understand English?" And this Comanche boy told him, "No. No savvy. Understand Mexican." "I was going to ask him if he had anything to sell." Then they told him. Sometimes he'd sell a ring, maybe, or a bracelet or something like that. We stuck that feather on his hat. It was an old slouch hat. And one of those Comanche boys said, "How's that feather on your hat?" He took his hat off. "How much you want for that, Geronimo? How much you want for that?" The Comanche boy told him, "Tell them five dollars." "Five dollars," he said. That lady opened her purse and gave him five dollars. Just for a old feather! Just because he was Geronimo!

As far as Quoetone and Rowlodge are concerned, it would seem that familiarity with the works of historians and anthropologists concerning their tribe has mainly had the effect of stimulating their interest in their tribal history, and provided them with opportunities for hearing more Indian versions of events and old traditions than would otherwise have been possible. Guy Quoetone, for example, has long owned a copy of James Mooney's *Calendar History of the Kiowa.* His copy is now tattered and worn and has his own hand-written notes at the margins of certain pages. However Guy has not only read and presumably studied this classic work, but he remembers Mooney from his boyhood and listened himself to many of the stories told to Mooney by the old Kiowa men. Mooney visited the Kiowa twice during the time he was collecting materials for this book--in 1892 when he collected three calendars and obtained interpretations of them from their owners, and in the winter of 1894-95 when he worked with a number of old men of the tribe and

obtained more extensive information on the calendars as well as other data on Kiowa history and culture.[8] Quoetone, who would have been about ten years old during the second visit, describes Mooney's work and its effect on him:

You see, Mooney comes out among the Indians and Stumbling Bear was the chief. And he came to Stumbling Bear and said, "I want to talk to all the old men, old chiefs. I want the history." And they all stopped down there. There was a government building over there at Mount Scott. He occupied that. He lived in it. And then he asked those Indians to come over there every day and tell him the story about the Sun Dance and the sun god and calendar history they had. And these old men, Adal-pepte, Haitsiki, Anko, and--oh, there's about ten of them. They gather every day and talk to him just like we're talking now. I'd go sometimes and just sit in and listen. I'm not asked to take part, but I was just a young man. Just listen in, because it's interesting stories. And I got a lot of those stories. I didn't write them down, but I hear them.

And in order to get the picture of how the Sun Dance camp (was arranged), he had them make little tipis about one or two feet high, and those tipies were set around in a circle, just like the Sun Dance camp. They showed him how they was taken care of and all that. And he paid them well. He paid them all every day. It's a government project and he paid them lots of money.

They (the old men) always come to him. They like it. They're out every day and every day. And they camped there for weeks and weeks. He don't run them down (in the sense of wearing them out). They're old men, you know, and they kinda like it, because they like to talk and tell stories anyway. And maybe one of them overlooks a story and then they call him down. "You forgot this--" And then they'd go back, "Oh, yeah--" And that way Mr. Mooney got all of it.

There was not only one old man but about ten old men working, working together for Mooney, making things. And some skilled man like Silverhorn[9] helped, because these old men couldn't make tipis and drawings, and Mooney paid him. The old men tells him how to make it and copy it and how to picture them. And we boys were going around there. Anybody could come around and look around, go inside. But you don't touch them. You just can look around.

There is no doubt that the work of Mooney and subsequent anthropologists, as well as some historians like Col. W. S. Nye, has stimulated renewed interest on the part of Indians themselves in their own history in those groups

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8 James Mooney, "Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians," in *Seventeenth Annual Report,* Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, 1898), pp. 142, 146.

9 Silverhorn was a noted craftworker and artist but was considerably younger than the old men Mooney was working with.

which have been visited. Old men suddenly found they had interested audiences for their stories, and young people, like Guy and Jesse, were introduced to a way of life they had never experienced. There is nothing inevitable in the transmission of oral tradition. Traditions perish when conditions for transmitting them break down, and traditional Plains Indian cultures were dealt a devastating blow in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. One effect of the work by Mooney and other field workers, then, has been to create a situation where at least some of the older traditions have been preserved, traditions which otherwise would have perished. Thus the collection of Indian oral history materials is enriched by the testimony of men like Guy Quoetone and Jesse Rowlodge who have had access to traditions not generally transmitted within their tribal groups today. However their testimony also has its limitations and its bias, and these things must be ascertained by the researchers who make use of it.

Most of the Indian people who have provided oral testimony for the Project are, however, relatively unsophisticated as far as contact with the academic world is concerned, and many have only a basic or a minimal formal education. The testimony of these people is amazingly concrete with respect to what they themselves have witnessed and experienced, and may be accepted as "factual" within the common application of this term. After much experience in obtaining oral testimony from many different Indian informants, it is felt that they have contributed their materials truthfully, with constant concern for accuracy, and an honest desire to add to the understanding of Indian history. It is the testimony of these people, perhaps, rather than that of the specialists like Quoetone and Rowlodge, which can best reveal the underlying beliefs, attitudes and feelings shared by the members of an Indian community about their history and their present condition. Outside their own life histories and stories they have heard from older relatives, their knowledge of their tribal past is drawn unconsciously from many sources, and their versions of their history may include elements from myths, hearsay accounts of tribal wanderings and vicissitudes, and popular versions of

American history. In this *folk history*, which in some passages seems to go "contrary to fact," so far as historical facts are generally known and accepted, may be found other facts of a deeper and more vital concern for historians. For in these folk versions are expressed beliefs, hopes, fears, and longings which spring from present day conditions and problems.

The following passage from a lengthy testimony will illustrate the nature and significance of folk history. This testimony was obtained from a man who is half Kiowa and half Kiowa-Apache. He was born and raised and has lived most of his life in the rural community where he now resides, close to Anadarko. The whole testimony is an account of Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache history running from mythological times to the present. This particular passage may be understood as reflective of the basic insecurities felt by the members of many Indian communities where precarious economic conditions are endemic, government Indian policy is unpredictable, and the word, "termination," crops up all too often in official pronouncements. The treaty referred to here is the famous Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867 with Kiowa, Comanche and Kiowa-Apache tribes.

So, finally the President of the United States sent troops down there to move them Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches to Kansas. So they drove them on back down here and they run them down into Kansas. They drive them there, and they lived there for many years, and they were increasing. Instead of decreasing, they were increasing, Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches. So, finally the United States President again give them orders to move them here. At that time they didn't know it was Oklahoma. So, they move them here. For so many years they were still fighting among the tribes. So, after the army capture them, and took away all their rights, take them away from them, well, then they drove them back. When they drove them here, and later they found out that this here was going to be Caddo County, Comanche County, and Kiowa County. And that's the way it came out in later years. But they were still in a battle yet. They were still fighting.

So, when they got over here, they took everything away from the Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches and told them that they would take care of them if they would lay down their arms and try to behave and obey the law. That they would take care of them. So, during that time, they had treaty there in Kansas and that was the last treaty, and the first treaty, and the last treaty. My great-grandfather, he was there, there at that place. When he got over there, they all talk there, you know. The Government ask them how many years they want to be taken care of,

you Indians, under the Government. And some of them say, "Just tell them to give us thirty years." Some of them say, "Just give us ten years." So, one man spoke up and said this, "Why don't you give us fifty years?" The old man. So they couldn't get together on that.

So, President Washington, he spoke for the Indians and he said, "I'll tell you this, my people, let's give them as long as the green grass grow and the water floats, the Government will take care of the Indians. Never be turned loose, never be on their own. Just go on as long as the green grass grow and the water float." So, they agreed to that. All the mens that were there, they agreed to that, and they stamped it. And when they stamped it, they signed it and stamped it. Then President Washington, he took that and he print it with the eagle brand. He printed it and he put his name on there. He said, "As long as the green grass grow and the water floats, the Indians will not never be turned loose." So that was the end of the Kiowa country way back there. But they still own it. They still have it in our possession. It ours yet. It's ours. But we here on this reservation in Oklahoma. We here now. Originate here.[10]

It is hoped that researchers will be encouraged to make use of this new collection of materials on Indian history. Not only does Indian oral testimony contain a tremendous amount of substantive information not to be found in written sources, but it contains other elements which can be found nowhere else, namely, the Indian's unique perspective of the historical process in which he has been involved, and his own aspirations and feelings as he searches for meaningful existence within the context of our plural society. For the new kind of Indian history necessitated by conditions of twentieth century life, where Indians are increasing not only in number but in self-awareness and desire for self-determination, oral history materials should provide an inexhaustible source of information.

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10 The Medicine Lodge Treaty provided for payments of annuities and goods for a period of thirty years, as well as schools, farming equipment, and instruction in farming. The phrase, "As long as the grass shall grow and as long as the waters run" does not appear in this treaty - Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties,* Vol. II (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), pp. 977-84.

RICHARD GAMBLE MILLER
1890-1970

By Robert V. Peterson

The life and accomplishments of R. G. ("Smoking Room") Miller - a friend of everyone - can best be exemplified by what he wrote in his final Smoking Room column of the *Oklahoma City Times* on June 4, 1968: "Thanks to everybody for being so good to me."

Quietly, unobtrusively, Dick Miller worked his way into the hearts of thousands of Oklahomans and became one of the best known individuals in the state through his work on *The Daily Oklahoman* and *The Oklahoma City Times* of Oklahoma City. He was a newspaperman first, last and always. Newspapering was the only kind of work Mr. Miller ever did, the only kind he ever wanted to do, and there is a feeling that he always felt sorry for those who had to follow other professions. He had great satisfaction as an editor and writer.

Richard Gamble Miller was born in Crocketts Bluff, Arkansas on November 10, 1890, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Louis J. Miller. He was one of six children in a family of four boys and two girls. His mother died in 1926 and his father in 1932. Mr. Miller died in Oklahoma City on September 15, 1970 at the age of seventy-nine.

Mr. Miller attended rural schools in Arkansas County, Arkansas from 1895 to 1904. He attended grade and high school in Stuttgart, Arkansas, graduating from high school there in 1907, and completed a two-year college course at Methodist Training School, Stuttgart, Arkansas in 1908. During the period between 1915 and 1919, he attended four different thirty-day short courses at Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

During 1947, Mr. Miller attended one of the well-known thirty-day seminars at Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism in New York City, and made such an

RICHARD GAMBLE MILLER

impression and made so many fine contributions that in 1950 he was invited back as one of the lecturers, one of the highest compliments that can be given a professional newspaperman.

In his "Smoking Room" columns, Mr. Miller frequently made references to the fact that he started his newspaper career as a printer's helper or "printer's devil" which was the term used by working newspaper people. This was in 1908 on the weekly paper at Stuttgart, Arkansas. During 1909 and 1910, he was successively a printer, pressman and editor of the weekly at Dewitt, Arkansas.

Then started a career through several newspapers, each change was for a better position with more responsibility and influence. In 1911, he was a reporter on *The Columbus Dispatch*, Columbus, Mississippi. During 1912 and 1913, he was state news editor of *The Meridian* Star Meridian, Mississippi; and from 1915 to 1920 he was assistant city editor and then city editor of *The New Orleans States*, New Orleans, Louisiana, one of the most important newspapers in the South.

Mr. Miller's marriage and family life were ideal. On August 6, 1912, he married Ann McKenzie at Dewitt, Arkansas and there was never a more devoted couple. Mr. Miller called her "Annie" and she usually referred to him as "Dad." Whenever possible, Mrs. Miller accompanied Mr. Miller on his hundreds of trips through the length and breadth of Oklahoma.

The Millers had four children. A little girl, Ann Louise, died at the age of twenty months on September 15, 1920. The sons Are: R. G. Miller, Jr., of Yukon, Oklahoma; David A. Miller of Oklahoma City; and Charles E. Miller of Chicago. There are six grandchildren and one great granddaughter.

On May 9, 1920, Mr. Miller brought his young family to Oklahoma City and eventually bought the home at 2705 N. W. 18th Street in Crestwood Addition. This is where the Millers became part of community life and where they reared their fine family. It is here where Mrs. Miller now lives

surrounded by pictures and mementoes of her husband's busy, active, helpful life. It is here where the scrapbooks are kept containing all the columns Dick Miller ever wrote. It is here where Mr. Miller received more than 500 "get well" cards in his last illness. It was at this home that people called Mr. Miller to offer suggestions for his daily column. Never a day went by that he did not get three or four telephone calls from readers, friends and well-wishers. "Dad used to say he was glad to get telephone calls from his friends but he wished they wouldn't call when he was eating his meal," Mrs. Miller said recently.

Until age caught up with him, Mr. Miller grew a garden in the back yard and mowed his own lawn. He loved his family and he loved his home and it showed through in his columns and that is why they were so popular.

Mr. Miller came to the Oklahoma Publishing Company as a copy reader. From 1923 to 1927, he was city editor of the *Daily Oklahoman* and trained some of the state's best newspapermen. From 1928 to 1938, he was Sunday and feature editor of the Oklahoman and from 1938 until his retirement in 1968, he devoted most of his time to writing the "Smoking Room" column which appeared in the *Oklahoma City Times* and the Sunday *Oklahoman.* He participated in the daily conferences of the Editorial Board and wrote editorials, most of which appeared in the *Oklahoma City Times.*

Mr. Miller was best known and made his greatest contribution through his Smoking Room column. Nobody can recall who selected the name "Smoking Room" for the column but it was a natural as he was a heavy smoker of both pipes and cigars. He never smoked cigarettes, however.

The first Smoking Room column appeared in the *Oklahoman* for Sunday, December 27, 1935. Mr. Miller always took his own pictures. The Smoking Room was an instant success and from 1935 on it was a permanent feature of the newspapers. It was a steady, consistent column that required constant digging and visiting and travelling. "Dad

loved every minute of it," Mrs. Miller said recently. "He never considered it work. He was always keeping his eyes open for ideas."

Mr. Miller travelled 450,000 miles over the highways and byways of the state gathering material for his columns. He always had his notebook and camera with him and no item was too insignificant and no person too unimportant to be considered as column material.

He was an honorary member of more than forty Oklahoma community Chambers of Commerce. Scores of towns staged "Smoking Room Miller" days with welcome banners stretched across the Main Street. He visited every one of the 77 counties in the state several times and knew well residents of more than 300 different communities.

Mr. Miller was an active church worker all his life. He joined the Methodist church in early boyhood, was president of the Men's Bible Class in Columbus, Mississippi, in 1911 and of the Men's Bible Class in Mobile, Alabama in 1914. One of the first things Mr. Miller did when he arrived in Oklahoma City in 1920 was to join St. Luke's Methodist Church, and for sixty years he had an almost perfect church attendance record. He became a member of St. Luke's official Board in 1924, and served continuously until his death. He was chairman of the Board when plans were formulated for the construction of St. Luke's present edifice. Mr. Miller attended church services in forty-one different Oklahoma towns and delivered scores of sermons and spoke to hundreds of Sunday School classes. For several years he wrote the copy for the weekly Sunday School lesson that appeared in the Oklahoma City newspapers.

Mr. Miller had deep satisfaction out of the trips he conducted - foliage tours in the fall and the dogwood tours in the spring. The first trip he organized was in the fall of 1941 and consisted of 12 to 15 private automobiles that made a tour up in the Sallisaw country. It rained on that trip, the highways were flooded, several cars got scattered and it was necessary to return by way of Fort Smith. After that, all the tours were on chartered buses.

Mr. Miller was elected to the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society in 1950, and served continuously and faithfully until his death. He was in great demand as a speaker on the subject of Oklahoma, and in 1960 received the Award of Merit from the American Association of State and Local History.

Mr. Miller found time to produce a wealth of material for booklets, brochures and pamphlets, in addition to his newspaper work. He produced an Oklahoma supplement to a United States geography textbook; wrote material for several editions of "See and Know Oklahoma," which were distributed to 253 Oklahoma high schools with a total circulation of more than 175,000. He wrote the copy for the State highway map produced in the administration of Governor Roy J. Turner. It was Mr. Miller who established the annual Historical Society Tour that has proved so popular in the work of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Mr. Miller's folksy type of column writing is well known. Here are four random samples of the hundreds of thousands he wrote in his Smoking Room column, the first one making reference to Joe Curtis of Pauls Valley, a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society:

"At the Rotary club meeting in Pauls Valley the other day, Joe Curtis got on his feet and named every president of the club from the time the charter was granted 27 years ago right down to now, happenings and achievements under each president.

"About three months ago, Mrs. J. P. Taylor in Mangum made some rag dolls for her grandchildren. The word got around. Dozens of other children pleaded with her to make rag dolls. Now her home resembles a doll factory. The women, bless them.

"Rev. Carlos Berry, the Baptist preacher at Ryan, has been immersed for the second time. He and J. W. Betts were fishing in Beaver Creek. The boat upset and the clergyman went smack-dab into the deep water.

"The city of Clinton has changed the date of its annual musical festival from April 19 to April 18 because it conflicted with Cardell's Old Settler's event. We call that fine inter-city cooperation and Oklahoma needs a lot more of it."

In almost half a century of newspapering in Oklahoma, Mr. Miller attracted thousands of readers, made hundreds of friends and left a lasting imprint on his chosen state.

In closing, we can recite an incident involving Dr. E. E. Dale, retired history professor at the University of Oklahoma, a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society and a close friend of Mr. Miller's. Dr. Dale grew up in Greer county as a cowboy, and as a young man went to Harvard University in Boston for his doctor's degree. While in Boston, Dr. Dale met a native of Boston who had never been west of New York City and they became good friends. His friend asked about making the trip to southwestern Oklahoma, what kind of people he would find and if it would be dangerous. Dr. Dale replied he hoped his friend would make the trip. He said:

"I know you will enjoy it. You won't find too many good roads or too many fine homes or big buildings but the people are the finest and friendliest in the world. Many of them live in sod huts, many miles from town.

"When you make the trip down there you may find yourself out in the country with night about to fall. You will want to spend a night in one of those sod houses because it will be too far to the next town. You knock on the door of one of those sod houses.

"As you knock you will notice a pile of wood outside. Wood is scarce and precious in that part of Oklahoma. It has to be chopped and hauled long distances. The pioneers guard it carefully.

"Even if there is no one at home, go inside and make yourself comfortable. When bedtime comes fix yourself a pallet on the floor and drop off to sleep. In the morning fix your breakfast. You can fry some eggs and maybe you can find some flour and make yourself some hot cakes.

"When you are ready to leave, don't think of leaving money. It isn't even necessary to leave a note of thanks. You probably couldn't find a pencil anyway.

"But there is one thing you ought to do to show your appreciation for that pioneer family and that is you ought to leave the woodpile higher than you found it."

This homely saying came true in the life of a great, good man, Dick "Smoking Room" Miller who left the wood pile higher than he found it.

THE BUILDING OF THE RAILROADS IN THE CHEROKEE NATION

*By Nancy Hope Self**

Beginning in the 1840's there was a sustained effort by the railroads to cross the Indian lands in the mid-continent and connect the developing Pacific area with the rest of the country.[1] Trade with Texas and Mexico beckoned to the railroads from the Southwest. The region south of the 37th Parallel occupied by the Five Civilized Tribes as well as the lands of other Indians extending north to the Canadian border created a barrier to this expansion. Although five transcontinental routes had been proposed before the outbreak of the Civil War, none had been given Congressional approval.

The first step to locating a railroad across the lands of the Five Civilized Tribes was the authorization by Act of Congress passed on March 3, 1853, for the survey of a route from Memphis to the Pacific Ocean, or roughly along the thirty-fifth parallel. On July 14, 1853, an expedition under the command of Lieutenant A. W. Whipple of the United States Army set out from Fort Smith westward along the Arkansas and Canadian Rivers to survey the Indian Territory segment of this proposed route.[2]

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* Nancy Hope Self, a graduate (B.A.) of Tulsa University, wrote this paper in preparation for the M.A. degree from the University, completed in 1971.--Ed.

1 In 1844, Secretary of War William Wilkins proposed that the Indians along the Platte River be pushed back far enough to the north and to the south to permit the formation of a territory and the opening of a railroad to the Pacific. This was the first proposal made to relocate Indians for the express purpose of clearing a railroad route.— Roy Gittinger, *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma* (Norman; University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), p. 32.

2 The original day-by-day journals kept by lieut. A. W. Whipple on this noted Pacific Railroad Survey from Fort Smith to the Pacific, along with original manuscripts, rare U.S. Government publications and original paintings done by Artist, H.B. Mollhausen en route on the expedition in 1853 make up one of the finest collections in the Oklahoma Historical Society.—See publications in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVIII (Spring, 1950): "Amiel Weeks Whipple" by Francis R. Stoddard; "Itemized List of the Whipple Collection" by Charles Evans, Secretary; "The Journal of Lieutenant A.W. Whipple" by Muriel H. Wright and George H. Shirk, pp. 226-83.--Ed.

Settlement of areas through which the railroads would pass was considered necessary to successful railroad operation. During these early years Congress was bombarded by bills advocating the establishment of territorial governments in the Indian lands. Chief among the agitators were the railroad companies. So long as the Indians held their lands under treaty with the United States government, the white settler could not legally stake a homestead nor was the railroad very interested in building across the vast expanses of the Midwest without government subsidies and land grants. In the northern area the Indians suffered relocation and exploitation and finally were overcome with the creation of the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska in 1854. These lands were now a part of the public domain. Passage of the Pacific Railroad Act and the Homestead Act, both in 1862, opened the way West for the most vocal advocates of westward expansion.

From the southern boundary of the Kansas Territory to the Red River, the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes maintained an adamant opposition to railroads and white settlers alike. Their Congressional delegations at Washington, bolstered by eastern groups who still retained a sympathetic attitude toward the Indians from the time of the forced removals in the 1830's, managed to defeat all territorial and statehood legislation until 1889.

The commencement of the Civil War had forced a halt in all railroad building in the West. At the conclusion of the fighting, however, construction was resumed in the territories and the Federal Government moved against the Five Civilized Tribes to satisfy the demands for rights-of-way through the Indian country. When the Southern Indians met with representatives of the United States at Fort Smith in September, 1865, the stated purpose of the meeting was to negotiate peace treaties and re-establish the relationships severed when the Indians allied with the Confederacy. However, both parties were yielding to pressures that dated back two decades prior to the war.

Among the provisions which the government tried to impose on the Indians were forfeiture of the western half of their territory for the relocation of other tribes from the

states and territories and a provision granting rights-of-way for two railroads across their lands; one to extend north and south and the other east and west. The first meeting at Fort Smith, Arkansas, ended in failure and the following year negotiations began again in Washington. Ultimately the Indians acceded to all major demands of the Federal Government except the establishment of a territorial government.

The proximity of the Cherokee Nation to the states of Kansas, Missouri, and Arkansas made it the first of the nations of the Five Civilized Tribes to feel the effect of the provision concerning the railroad routes. Exaggerated reports of the fertility of the soil increased the attractiveness of the Indian property, particularly since the railroads believed that the government would extinguish Indian title through the imposition of a territorial government and the allotment of lands. The usual liberal grants of land would then be forthcoming.

So eager were the railroad people and their friends in Congress that charters for three railroads into the Indian Territory were granted on July 25, 26 and 27, 1866, while the ratification of the last Indian treaty, that of the Cherokees, did not take place until July 27.[2a] The three companies proposing routes across the Indian country from the north were the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Fort Gibson Railroad Company (reorganized in the late 1860's as the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston Railroad Company and later incorporated into the Santa Fe system), the Union Pacific Railroad Company, Southern Branch (reincorporated as the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway Company on February 3, 1870), and the Kansas & Neosho Valley Railroad Company (subsequently known as the Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf Railroad Company and eventually a part of the Frisco system). On the east, the Atlantic and Pacific Railway Company (later known as the St. Louis-San Francisco Railway and commonly called the Frisco) was pushing toward the Shawnee and Seneca lands in the extreme

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[2a] Gittinger, *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma,* p. 100.

northeast corner of the Indian Territory, and hoping to build the east-west route across the lands of the Five Civilized Tribes.

Since it was easy to obtain passage of bills in the Congress granting land for railroads,[3] all of the railroads chartered to build into or across the Indian Territory held land grants from the United States government. These early grants varied in size from the very generous provision for "twenty sections for each mile of road constructed to be selected within forty miles of the right-of-way"[4] down to "five sections for each mile within ten miles of the right-of-way."[5] A further stipulation provided that the grants would not become effective without the consent of the tribe holding the land or until the Indian land became a part of the public domain. The latter requirement could be accomplished by treaty or by the institution of a territorial government in place of the tribal or national governments of the Indians. The efforts by the railroads to get Congress to establish a territorial government and terminate the common ownership of land by the individual tribes in the Indian Territory were directed toward the realization of these provisions in their charters.

From the Indian point of view, these land grants seemed a vicious land-grabbing scheme by which they would lose over three million acres of their land for the north-south route alone.[6] In the Cherokee Nation, if the land grant for the north-south route were validated as originally planned, the railroad would obtain half of the lands in the Grand River valley, the very heart of the Cherokee country. Many Cherokees even held the view that the government should purchase the rights-of-way for the railroads since it had "no right of eminent domain over a solitary foot of the land

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[3] Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People,* Vol. II (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1929), p. 475.

[4] Gittinger, *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma,* p. 100n.

[5] Thoburn and Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State,* p. 475.

[6] James D. Morrison, "The Union Pacific, Southern Branch", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XIV (June, 1936), p. 178.

which it has by treaty ceded or guaranteed to the Indian tribes".[7] The Cherokees argued that they held their lands in fee simple and the only time the government had the right to dispose of Indian lands was when the Indians became extinct, abandoned their lands, or voluntarily surrendered them.[8] The overall loss in land to the Five Civilized Tribes would be approximately twenty million acres[9] worth amounts estimated as high as one hundred million dollars.[10]

The General Indian Council, representing all of the Five Civilized Tribes and established under the treaties of 1866, met at Okmulgee on May 13, 1874. It instructed its secretary to forward to the President of the United States and the leaders of Congress a resolution requesting repeal of all railroad land grants under the acts of July 25, 26 and 27, 1866.[11] This same petition had been presented earlier by this same assembly, stressing the pledge of protection of the Indian nations by the federal government. When the Indian Territory newspapers carried the story of another mortgage against the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway Company [12] in the amount of ten million dollars, the Cherokees urged their Washington delegation to work even harder for repeal of the detested land grants.

Certain members of Congress were outspoken in their criticism of the government for making the land grants, saying that Congress had created the land grant problem in

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[7] *Cherokee Advocate* (Tahlequah), May 23, 1874.

[8] *Ibid.*, May 9, 1874.

[9] *Ibid.*, June 10, 1876.

[10] *Ibid.*, May 9, 1874.

[11] *Ibid.*, June 17, 1876.

[12] Except where otherwise stated, the source of information on the Union Pacific, Southern Branch, predecessor of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway Company, and its Kansas competitors is Vincent Victor Masterson, *The Katy Railroad and the Last Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952). After the incorporation of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railway Company on February 3, 1870, it became popularly known as the "Katy" and will be so referred to in this paper.

the Indian Territory when "in an unwise moment" it had given the land contingent upon clearing the Indian title.[13] The question of whether the government had exceeded its authority in this matter would absorb the energies of both the Indians and the railroads for years to come before finally being resolved by the United States Supreme Court.

The First Railroads

As the railroad companies maneuvered for their fair share of land under the various acts emanating from Congress after the Civil War, the Union Pacific, Southern Branch, attempted to negotiate directly with the Cherokees and thereby obtain the consent of the Indians as required in the land grant act. The railroad dispatched a commission to the Cherokee National Council to treat with the tribe. The result was an agreement, dated October 31, 1866, which contained not only consent but a "pledge of $500,000 in funds and a bonus" to be paid from the sale of a quarter of a million acres of Cherokee lands. Although the agreement was filed with the Secretary of the Interior, the necessary approval by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs had not been obtained when the Cherokee National Council enacted legislation declaring the contract null and void on the grounds that the railroad had failed to carry out the terms.[14] Although opposition to the railroads was strong in the Cherokee Nation, it is probable that the main factor in the cancellation of the agreement was that the Indian negotiators had contemplated the sale of lands in the Cherokee Outlet, lands over which they had lost actual control in the treaty of 1866. Nevertheless, the railroad's efforts to deal directly with the Indians failed.

By Act of Congress passed on July 26, 1866, the right to build across the Indian Territory for the purpose of linking the Fort Riley military reservation in Kansas with Fort Gibson and Fort Smith was to be awarded to the company

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13 Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 1838-1907* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1938), p. 260, quoting from the minority report of the House Committee on Territories, May 27, 1872.

14 *Laws of the Cherokee Nation Passed During the Years 1839-1867,* comp. by authority of the National Council (St. Louis: Missouri Democrat Print, 1868), pp. 170-171.

which first completed a first-class railroad to the northern boundary of the Indian Territory in the Neosho River Valley.[15] Despite this stipulation, some question still remained as to the number of railroads to enter the Indian lands. In a stockholders' meeting of the Union Pacific, Southern Branch, at Emporia, Kansas, on February 3, 1870, it was announced that most of the company directors agreed with the owners of the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston Railroad and the Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf Railroad that the first line reaching the border would have the exclusive right to build on across the Indian Territory. The Secretary of the Interior had "intimated" that this would be the case.

With three companies having construction from the north underway, the Cherokees filed a protest stating that under the terms of the treaty of 1866 only one right-of-way had been granted for a north-south road. In the spring of 1870 the Cherokee delegation in Washington appeared before representatives of all four railroads building toward their lands and raised the same question as to the number of roads authorized. On July 21, the Attorney General of the United States gave his decision, confirming the earlier opinion of the Secretary of the Interior that only one road was to be permitted in each direction across the Indian Territory.[16]

Although all three of the railroads building in Kansas had begun construction prior to January, 1870, it was not until then that the real contest to reach the Indian Territory border began. At this time the Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf was only sixty miles from the border, the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston about ninety miles and the Union Pacific, Southern Branch, was nearly one hundred miles away.

The Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston was never a serious contender. When the race was over, its line had not

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15 Thoburn and Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State,* p. 477.

16 *Cherokee Advocate* (Tahlequah), October 22, 1870.

yet been built as far as Humboldt, Kansas. The company evidently believed that permission to enter the Indian Territory would be granted on whatever date the road reached the border.[17] The Katy and the Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf literally battled their way across southern Kansas toward the Indian Territory. Sabotage of the competitor's line and brawling between the rival crews was only a part of the contest. With construction under the supervision of Robert S. Stevens, Katy general manager and a man of relentless drive, this road averaged a mile a day under the most adverse weather conditions while contending with shortages of timber and iron. The route of the Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf was over smoother terrain and some forty miles shorter than that of the Katy. However, the company management of the former had been badly misled, probably by their own agents as well as "friends" of the opposition. The tracklayers of the Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf were headed straight for Baxter Springs, Kansas, mistakenly believing that point to be on the northern border of the Indian Territory. On May 4, 1870, when the railroad reached Baxter Springs, the nearest Indian lands were those of the Quapaws and they lay still further south. No right of entry had been given across these lands. The valley of the Neosho was seventeen miles to the west. The Missouri River, Fort Scott and Gulf had lost the race. When correct information came, it was too late.

Nearly a month later, at noon on June 6, the Katy reached Chetopa, Kansas, on the northern edge of the Cherokee Nation. Behind the first woodburning locomotive to cross the border, some of the track lay flat on the hardpacked bed of the Texas Road. In places, the roadbed had been reduced from fifteen to nine feet, hardly wide enough to accommodate the full length of the ties. Instead of the 56-pound rails, lighter 45-pound irons had been hurriedly lain. Nonetheless, after a brief excursion into Indian Territory with a trainload of notables, Stevens accepted the

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[17] Preston George and Sylvan R. Wood, "The Railroads of Oklahoma", *Bulletin No. 60, The Railway and Locomotive Historical Society* (Boston: Harvard Business School), January, 1943.

congratulations and confirmation of the appointees of the Secretary of the Interior that the Katy was indeed the first railroad to reach the Indian Territory border. On June 9, the governor of Kansas, as the official designated by Congress to attest to the completion of the work, sent his report to the Secretary that the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad "was a first-class completed railroad to the northern boundary of the Indian Territory." Presidential approval followed on June 20.

Difficulties between the Katy and the Cherokees had begun even before the railroad received its official sanction to build into the Indian Territory. On May 13, 1870, the Indians complained to the Secretary of the Interior that Katy workmen were inside their lands. Explaining that only a few men had been sent ahead to do some survey work and smooth out some rough spots, the railroad withdrew its crews. No one, except perhaps the Indians themselves, really knew what degree of cooperation the railroad would receive from the Five Civilized Tribes.

Under the 1866 treaty right-of-way up to two hundred feet wide except where facilities necessitated more space had been given to the railroad. Company personnel was to be protected during construction and operation of the line.[18] Under the $500,000 bond filed by the Katy on August 6, 1870, the rights and obligations of the railroad were made more explicit. The company was to build a line from south of Chetopa to Preston (now Dennison), Texas, with a branch line via Fort Gibson to Fort Smith, Arkansas. The railroad promised to respect the rights of individual Indians as well as tribes, to obey all United States laws, to conform to the provisions of government treaties with the Indians and to take no materials except under approved contracts with Cherokee citizens. The railroad was to "commit no waste" and see that intruders who might follow the construction gangs were expelled from the territory.[19]

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18 *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties,* Vol. II (Treaties), comp. and ed. by Charles J. Kappler (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), p. 945.

19 *Cherokee Advocate* (Tahlequah), October 22, 1870.

Following the application by the Katy for building materials, the Cherokee National Council on December 10, 1870, passed laws applicable to the furnishing of such supplies. Ties, timber, rock and gravel were to be taken from the public domain of the Nation under written licenses issued by the tribal chief to individual citizens. Such licenses were to be approved by the Department of the Interior and were to comply with the provisions of the act requiring the bond from the railroad. Cherokee citizens engaged in furnishing materials, filed bonds with their National Treasurer and paid taxes of five cents for every tie or cross tie; bridge timber and other railroad timber (hewed or sawed) was taxed at fifteen percent of actual cash value; the assessment for rock was fifteen cents per cubic yard for first class stone work, ten cents for second class and five cents for third class. Payment of taxes was to be made to the district sheriff. Trespass upon the improvements of other citizens was prohibited. In cases of damages done by the railroad in passing through improved land, a three-man board appointed by the chief was to make a determination of the amount of judgment. The approval of the Secretary of the Interior was necessary before payment could be made. Payment was to be made to the citizen by the federal government rather than by the railroad.[20]

All through the fall and winter of 1870 the end of the track remained on the border south of Chetopa. Company officials were busy elsewhere trying to consolidate their financial position, complete connections with truck lines in Missouri, and forestall a highly competitive squeeze by completing a line from Parsons, Kansas, northeast to Sedalia, Missouri. By the first of March, 1871, Robert Stevens had men finishing the bridge over Russell Creek just four miles south of Chetopa and other crews working on every river crossing for a hundred miles south. There were fifty cars of iron on location at track's end with enough "fish plate, bolts and spikes" for thirty miles of track.

When Stevens set the first goal for his construction workers, he chose Big Cabin Creek where the Old Military

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[20] *Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation* (St. Louis: R. & T. A. Ennis, 1875), pp. 252-55.

Road from Fort Gibson breaks away from the Texas Road and veers to the northeast. Work began at Chetopa on March 6, 1871, and Stevens hoped to reach Big Cabin Creek before the cattle herds arrived. By the end of the month only ten miles of track were in place. As in Kansas a year earlier, the rainy weather made progress slow. Another problem resulted from an inadequate supply of ties.

Even though Stevens bragged that he had persuaded the Cherokees to reduce the price of ties from seventy-five cents to fifty-five cents each, the Indians made the acquisition of timber difficult. Under tribal law, an individual Cherokee could fence as much land as he chose for his own use. The railroad had believed that there was an ample supply of walnut, bois d'arc, burr oak, wild cherry and locust along the projected route to satisfy its needs. However, once the railroad crews were across the line, they discovered that the Indians had fenced large tracts of land "for their own use" in complete accord with the laws of the Nation. Within the Cherokee fences was most of the timber suitable for ties. This development meant that ties would not be cut from the public domain and therefore Stevens would be required to deal with the individual Indian rather than with the tribal government.

About the middle of May, approximately six weeks after construction in the Cherokee Nation had commenced, the crews had crossed Big Cabin Creek and reached the proposed townsite of Vinita. This two-mile square location had been enclosed and laid out in town lots by Elias C. Boudinot, Cherokee lawyer and ardent railroad supporter.[21] The town

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[21] Elias C. Boudinot was a well-educated half-breed Cherokee from a prominent family. He had served in the Confederate Army and as a delegate to the Confederate Congress. During the negotiations of the treaties in 1866, he had led the Southern Cherokee faction which willingly offered grants of land to the railroads. He had no dread of the effect of the railroads upon the Indians. In 1868 in a letter to his uncle, Stand Watie, Boudinot outlined a bill which he hoped to introduce in Congress for the chartering of an Indian railroad. The line was to be financed by Indian funds held in trust by the Federal Government. The plan never materialized. Boudinot was present in the spring of 1870 to assist the Katy in disrupting the work of their competitors in Kansas. He was also on hand to drive the first railroad spike in the Indian

was to be named for the famous sculptress, Vinnie Reams, reportedly a good friend of Boudinot. The site was chosen because it obviously would be the point of intersection for the lines of the Katy and west-bound Atlantic and Pacific Railroad. The Katy built many cattle pens and loading chutes near the townsite on Big Cabin Creek.[22]

During the last of May and early June the Katy's hard-driving tracklayers had put down "over twelve miles of track in ten consecutive days". The days of rapid building under favorable conditions were, however, cut short. By mid-summer half of the workmen were disabled by malarial fever, dysentery, typhoid and chills.[23] Even the horses and oxen were unable to work under the blazing sun and the seige of flies. The constant urging of Stevens kept the work going. Every suggestion of postponement or delay was rejected.

In September, the railroad reached Chouteau, forty-nine miles from the Kansas border. Although the Katy was providing the fastest service from the Cherokee Nation to St. Louis, the Atlantic and Pacific still held the contract for the Texas mail which had to move by stage to the terminus of its line. By May 22, 1871, the end of the Atlantic and Pacific track rested on the eastern border of the Cherokee Nation, some twenty-five miles from Vinita. Business was improving for the Katy the further south the line was built. The first shipment of cattle was made from Chouteau in 1871.[24]

Besides disease and the twenty to thirty-foot canebrakes through which the workmen were slashing their way, there were the continual difficulties with the Cherokees over the

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Territory on June 6, 1870. Later Boudinot and a railroad attorney publicized the unoccupied lands in the center of the state and were instrumental in opening this area to white settlement.— Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942); Gittinger, *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma;* and Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation.*

22 Thoburn and Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State,* p. 482.

23 Morrison, "The Union Pacific, Southern Branch", p. 181.

24 Thoburn and Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State,* p. 880.

land grants, location of townsites and the sale of town lots.[25] It was at this time that the Katy decided that it had had enough from the surly Cherokees and determined to depart the Cherokee Nation at the nearest possible point and the sooner the better. Approximately three miles south of Chouteau, the Creek Nation abuts the southern and western boundaries of the Cherokee domain. Here the Katy railroad left the Cherokee Nation. From this point to Eufaula, a distance of nearly sixty-five miles, the railroad parallels the western boundary of the Cherokee lands.

The obstinate opposition of the Cherokees to the railroad had, in a sense, backfired. When the Katy altered its course to enter the Creek Nation, the branch line through Fort Gibson to Fort Smith was abandoned. The chance for Fort Gibson to become an important rail center was gone forever. In the meantime, Gibson Station, northwest of the fort and several miles inside the Creek lands, became the first passenger and freight station built by the Katy in Indian Territory. The transportation of freight from Fort Gibson and Tahlequah moved to the Katy depot by wagon.

By July 20, 1872, the Katy had crossed the Cherokee Nation and moved into the Creek lands. The first passenger train across Indian Territory made its run from Kansas to Dennison, Texas, on Christmas Eve, 1872.

While the Katy vied with two other railroads for the north-south route across the Indian Territory, the Atlantic and Pacific Railway Company was the only road approaching from the east and therefore won the east-west route without opposition. The latter railroad, with an impressive plan to build from Missouri to the Pacific coast, had been chartered on July 27, 1866.[26] It held a land grant under which it was to receive alternate sections of land in a forty-mile strip on each side of the right-of way with the reservation concerning Indian consent or extinguishment of Indian title.[27] Like the

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25 Edwin C. McReynolds, *Oklahoma: A History of the Sooner State* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), p. 272.

26 Amos Maxwell, "The Sequoyah Convention", *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII (Summer, 1950), p. 163.

27 *Oklahoma City Times*, April 1, 1954, Sec. 7.

Katy, the Atlantic and Pacific tried to deal directly with the Cherokees for land grants but without success.[28]

In October 1870 the Atlantic and Pacific acquired from the Southern Pacific Railroad Company a completed road from Pacific, Missouri, to Peirce *(sic)* City, Missouri, and a partially built road from the latter location to the state line at Seneca, Missouri. The portion of the road to Seneca was completed April 1, 1871.[29] By May 22, 1871 the route had been built ten miles westward across the Shawnee and Wyandotte reservations to the Grand River, the northeastern boundary of the Cherokee lands.[30] The remaining twenty-five miles to a junction with the Katy line at Vinita was not completed until September 1, 1871.[31] Soon after beginning construction in the Cherokee Nation, the railroad platted the town of Prairie City, about two miles inside the Cherokee lands, and built stockyards having forty-five chutes and pens to accommodate five thousand head of cattle. In October 1871, ten thousand head were shipped from this point with the agent reporting seven trains loaded with two hundred and fifty animals each in a single day.[32]

A bitter struggle for the hauling of cattle, agricultural products, minerals and timber from the Indian Territory and the transportation of thousands of settlers to the Southwest raged for eighteen months after the completion of the Katy line to Chetopa. All the customary techniques of eliminating competition, the rebates, price cutting, short-hauls, differential rates plus cancelled agreements, had been employed to thwart the success of the Katy. What could not be accomplished in fact was done by the circulation of misinformation, particularly in the money markets where Katy bonds were being sold. The solution to the problem came with the announcement by Katy that it intended to

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28 Morrison, "The Union Pacific, Southern Branch", pp. 176-7.

29 McReynolds, *Oklahoma: A History of the Sooner State,* p. 273.

30 Masterson, *The Katy Railroad,* p. 105.

31 McReynolds, *Oklahoma: A History of the Sooner State,* p. 273.

32 Thoburn and Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State,* p. 882.

build a northeastern extension from Sedalia to Moberly in the center of the state of Missouri. This announcement, made well in advance of actual construction, served as a threat to the profits of the Missouri Pacific, under the control of the Atlantic and Pacific, and to the latter line itself. The extension was not built until 1873 but its prospect frustrated the ultimate goal of the Atlantic and Pacific, i.e., the ruination of the Katy and its purchase after bankruptcy.

In the Indian Territory a unique situation was developing over the location of the intersection of the two competing railroads. The Katy had joined Boudinot in his plan to establish a townsite on Big Cabin Creek and had located its passenger and freight facilities there. Robert Stevens and the Katy tracklayers were at work at the end of the line, now well into the Creek Nation. In late October, word reached them that the Atlantic and Pacific was building its depot facilities on the Katy right-of-way nearly three miles north of the Katy-sanctioned townsite. The Atlantic and Pacific people, aided by the duplicity of Boudinot and several other Cherokees, had altered the route of their line and platted a new townsite. The name was to be Downingville in honor of the Cherokee chief.

As work at the intersection was being done, the Atlantic and Pacific crews were laying track approximately two miles to the east. Stevens decided that the Katy could not tolerate the abuse of its rights and he promptly called for his workmen to load up with materials and come north to reconstruct the main line and lay side tracks where the Atlantic and Pacific facilities were located. Three days later the right-of-way was clear of Atlantic and Pacific buildings and their lines were well buried under a foot of dirt and fill. The Katy tracks were firmly implanted on top. One of the most violent battles of railroad history was fought between the opposing crews on the night following the laying of the new track. Atlantic and Pacific tracks were ripped up and dumped at the construction site at the end of the company's line.

Despite the momentary victory of the Katy crewmen, the Atlantic and Pacific townsite survived and through Boudinot's influence was named Vinita. The Atlantic and

Pacific line was relaid and a new depot was built for joint occupancy with the Katy.[33] However, a new dispute arose and the Katy refused to even stop its trains at Vinita. Since Cherokee law required that trains stop within one thousand feet of a station before passing on through, Katy passengers leapt from the trains when the required stop was made.[34] Finally the Atlantic and Pacific began blocking the crossing whenever a Katy train was due, thus forcing the inbound train to stop. Prior to this time, the Katy trains had roared through Vinita as though it were not there.

When the Atlantic and Pacific line reached Vinita, only thirty-six miles of track had been built in the Indian Territory. The company stopped construction however, complaining that it could not afford to continue in view of the fact that the Government had not fulfilled its responsibility in clearing the Indian title.[35]

In January, 1882, the railroad decided to resume the building of its line westward from Vinita. By this date its time limit for construction had expired and the Cherokees were asserting that the right to extend must be awarded to another railroad and that in addition the Atlantic and Pacific bond was now worthless. On March 20, 1882, the Department of the Interior approved the company's application for extension on the basis of an opinion by the United States Attorney General dated October 26, 1880, in which he ruled that "failure to complete would not mean forfeiture."[36]

Upon recommendation by the Secretary of the Interior, the Cherokee Nation concluded a new agreement on March 27, 1882,[37] with the railroad for the additional building. A new bond satisfactory to the Indians was issued; a decision to

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[33] *Ibid,* p. 881.

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 881-2.

[35] Gittinger, *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma,* p. 100n.

[36] *Cherokee Advocate* (Tahlequah), April 28, 1882.

[37] Editorial, *Indian Chieftain* (Vinita), January 24, 1889.

assess damages in Indian courts was agreed upon; and provisions were made for obtaining materials under proper licenses from the Cherokees.[38]

In 1881-82, the Atlantic and Pacific extended its line through Claremore to Tulsa with a terminus on the east bank of the Arkansas River in the Creek Nation. Although the number of cattle shipped over the extended line increased appreciably, it was a number of years before the line became a paying proposition.

The attitude of the Cherokees toward the building of the Atlantic and Pacific was much the same as it had been toward the Katy. The Indians appealed for permission for the railroad to change its route through the Creek and Cherokee Nations because the question of land grants had created disturbances and disrupted the peace. According to the Indian interpretation, this was a violation of government treaty provisions to "protect the Indians in the peaceful possession of their lands."[39]

An unusual situation developed from the objections by an alleged Cherokee citizen over the taking of his land by the railroad. Pat Shannahan, supposedly an adopted member of the Cherokee Nation by virtue of his marriage to a Cherokee woman, fenced a part of the two-hundred-foot right-of-way which had been staked by the railroad. He then stopped the construction crews by building a small fortress from railroad ties and amply arming himself and a few friends. He offered to relinquish his right to the property upon the payment of damages but both the railroad and the Cherokee government were of the opinion that there was no basis for a claim. Rights-of-way were the subject of treaties with the United States government, not of agreements between the Indians and the railroads. An investigation of Shannahan showed that he was not legally married since the Cherokee woman had a living spouse. Under these circumstances Shannahan was an

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[38] *Cherokee Advocate* (Tahlequah), April 28, 1882.

[39] Cherokee Railroads (Tahlequah), Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City. Undated letter to the Committee on the Pacific Railroad.

intruder in Indian Territory. Undeterred by the requirements of the law, he remarried the Cherokee woman but gave up his claim to damages and permitted the railroad construction to proceed.[40] Other reports of this incident identify Shannahan as a former employee of the railroad who was seeking to get even. Instead of merely fencing a part of the right-of-way, he is alleged to have put his barn squarely across the path of the railroad.[41]

In 1877 the officials of the Atlantic and Pacific were demanding that the government survey the lands along the route of their line from the Missouri border to Vinita and issue patents according to the Act of Congress approved on July 27, 1866. The Commissioner of the General Land Office advised the Secretary of the Interior on October 13, 1877, that these lands were for the sole use of the Indians and that the government acted in a supervisory capacity only. Further, he said the only way the railroads may acquire the lands donated by the Congress is in accordance with the stipulations of the act, i.e., that the lands become public domain or the Indians give their consent to the transfer of title to the railroads. The Cherokees on November 29, 1869, had refused to give either land or financial assistance to the railroads. Since there was no provision for any land except the right-of-way in the 1866 treaties, the Commissioner ruled that "the [railroad] company has not the shadow of a claim therefore under the act of 1866."[42]

In 1878 the company bonds were selling at five cents on the dollar and the railroad was seeking validation of its land grant through the Court of Claims in order to avert bankruptcy. In 1897 the United States Supreme Court upheld an act of Congress which declared the land grant forfeited.[43] This same year the Atlantic and Pacific was foreclosed and passed into the hands of the St. Louis-San Francisco Railroad Company.

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[40] *Cherokee Advocate* (Tahlequah), May 5, 1882.

[41] Thoburn and Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State,* p. 884.

[42] *Cherokee Advocate* (Tahlequah), June 22, 1878. The newspaper of this date carries a reprint of the entire opinion by the Commissioner of the General Land Office.

[43] *Oklahoma City Times,* April 1, 1954, Section 7.

Later Railroad Construction

After the construction of the Katy and the Atlantic and Pacific, the provisions in the 1866 treaties for north-south and east-west railroads had been fulfilled. No new lines were authorized until 1886 although every session of Congress saw the introduction of numerous bills for the chartering of railroads across the Indian Territory. The Washington delegations for the Cherokees and the Creeks reported to their governments that six bills proposing the building of railroads in the Indian Territory had been introduced in the Congress during 1884.[44] In 1886 ten special bills were before Congress seeking rights-of-way across the Indian Territory, none of which provided for land subsidies.[45]

The Indians protested with at least temporary success since the next railroad built in the Cherokee Nation was the Kansas and Arkansas Valley Railroad (commonly known as the Iron Mountain and later a part of the Missouri Pacific system). This company obtained its charter on June 1, 1886 with permission to build from the Arkansas line at Fort Smith "northwest through the Indian Territory to the Kansas line between the Arkansas and Caney rivers" with a branch line to Coffeyville.[46] When construction was completed, the railroad passed directly into Coffeyville and no branch line was needed.

Under the charter the railroad was to have a right-of-way one hundred feet wide plus two hundred feet by three thousand feet for stations every ten miles. The land, unless used for the purposes stated, was to revert to the Indian tribes. The usual provisions for damages and compliance with Indian laws were included. The company was to pay to the Secretary of the Interior for the account of the Indians an

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44 *Cherokee Advocate* (Tahlequah), March 28, 1884.

45 Edward Everett Dale and Morris L. Wardell, *History of Oklahoma* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948), p. 432.

46 *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties,* Vol. I (Laws), comp. and ed. by Charles J. Kappler (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), p. 231.

annual amount of fifty dollars for each mile of its track. Construction was to begin within six months after the charter was approved, the line was to be approved in twenty-five mile sections by the Secretary of the Interior, and one hundred miles completed within three years. The charter contained no grant of land except the right-of-way.[47]

The chief of the Cherokees filed a complaint with the President of the United States within a few weeks after the act chartering the railroad had passed, attempting to stop construction of this road.[48] Eventually they went to court for this purpose but without success. When the building of the track started, the Cherokees refused to permit ties to be cut along the route.[49] Work began at Van Buren, Arkansas, in the middle of July, 1887. By September, 1888, the line had been built along the north bank of the Arkansas River across the southern edge of the Cherokee Nation and was complete to Wagoner in the Creek Nation. The extension of the road from Wagoner to Coffeyville was finished by late October, 1889.[50] In 1897 the railroad paid an annual tax of fifteen dollars per mile of line to the Creeks and Cherokees although the original charter had provided for an amount of fifty dollars per mile.[51]

When the tracklaying gangs had finished stringing the Kansas and Arkansas Valley railroad across the Cherokee Nation from the southeast to the northwest in 1889, all of the major lines that would be built in the area before statehood had been completed. Further building would consist of branch lines with one or two extensions of major importance because of their strategic location or the competition created by improved service. Spurs for temporary use were built both by the railroad companies and individuals in order to transport construction materials.

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47 Ibid.

48 *Indian Chieftain* (Vinita), July 22, 1886.

49 Masterson, *The Katy Railroad,* pp. 244-5.

50 Thoburn and Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State,* p. 485.

51 *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897), pp. 51-52.

Besides the lines built for the steam locomotives, one electric railroad was chartered in 1892. The Tahlequah and Fort Gibson Electric Railway Company, laid between the towns included in the company name, was popular with the Indians. Customarily, towns were built, or at least platted, at ten-mile intervals along the trunk lines. The Indians believed that these "railroad towns" killed their communities and since the electric railway planned no towns along its route, it was generally favored by the Cherokees.[52]

On February 27, 1893, the United States Congress approved an application by the Kansas City, Pittsburg and Gulf Railroad to build from near Galena, Kansas, to the Red River.[53] The road entered the Cherokee Nation near the community of Watts, approximately seven miles south of Siloam Springs, Arkansas, and exited the Cherokee lands at the Arkansas River south of Sallisaw. The Indian Territory section of the route was nearly one hundred twenty-eight miles long, fifty-seven miles being in the Cherokee Nation,[54] This railroad became the Kansas City Southern after statehood.

The Congress approved on January 29, 1897, the application of the Muskogee, Oklahoma and Western Railroad to build a line from Muskogee northeast through Fort Gibson and Tahlequah to a point on the western boundary of Arkansas adjacent to Cherokee lands.[55] This line was completed in March, 1903, from Muskogee to Westville near the state line and then to Fayetteville, Arkansas, by a successor company, the Ozark and Cherokee Central Railway.[56] The Cherokee Nation section was seventy-four miles long. It later became a part of the Frisco system.

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52 *Indian Chieftain* (Vinita), November 10, 1892.

53 Kappler, *Laws and Treaties,* Vol. I. p. 469.

54 George and Wood, "The Railroads of Oklahoma," p. 47.

55 Kappler, *Laws and Treaties,* Vol. I, p. 612.

56 Alpheus Caswell Bray, "A Story of the Building of the Railroads in the State of Oklahoma" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, n.d.), p. 45.

A branch line of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad was built into Bartlesville from Caney, Kansas, in 1898 and started service in the summer of 1899.[57] Approximately twenty miles of track were laid. In 1903 the outfitting of the oil fields in the Bartlesville area initiated the building of a four-mile line to connect Dewey with Bartlesville, reportedly at the expense of the Katy although it was not identified as a part of the Katy system.[58] The same year the Santa Fe line was extended to Collinsville and in 1905 it was completed to Tulsa in the Creek Nation.[59]

The Arkansas and Oklahoma Railroad Company completed a railroad from Rogers, Arkansas, to Grove, Oklahoma, in November, 1900. Eleven miles of this line were in the Cherokee Nation.[60] The road later became a part of the Frisco system.

In 1901 the Kansas City, Fort Scott and Gulf Railroad Company[61] extended its line from Miami to Afton, a distance of thirteen miles.[62] This cut-off was opened on October 18, 1901, and put Vinita on the main line of the Frisco. It shortened the Frisco run between Kansas City and Oklahoma City and Fort Worth by one hundred thirteen miles and greatly improved service.[63]

Building from Stevens, Kansas, just west of Coffeyville, the Missouri, Kansas and Oklahoma Railroad reached Dewey, Indian Territory, in October 1902. By using the existing line between Dewey and Bartlesville, the railroad continued its construction on toward Hominy in the Osage Nation during

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57 Frank F. Finney, Sr., "The Indian Territory Illuminating Oil Company," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXVII (Summer, 1959), p. 155.

58 Bray, "A Story of the Building of the Railroads," P. 27.

59 R. H. Hudson, "L. E. Phillips," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXIV (Winter, 1946-47), p. 418.

60 Bray, "A Story of the Building of the Railroads," p. 42.

61 The surviving corporation after the reorganization of the Leavenworth, Lawrence and Galveston Railroad.

62 Grant Foreman, "Early Trails Through Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. III, (June, 1925), p. 115.

63 *The Daily Chieftain* (Vinita), October 5, 1901.

1903 and 1904. The charter for this line had been issued August 15, 1901 to the Kansas, Oklahoma City and Western Railroad Company with the project backed by the Katy.[64] Upon completion of both segments of the road the Katy organization assumed control.

Cherokee opposition to the railroads focused on one basic issue: the fear of forfeiture of their lands. If the railroads built in accordance with the provisions of the treaty of 1866, land for rights-of-way would be given up. If the Indians ever ceased to exist, abandoned their homes, or voluntarily consented to relinquish their lands, the railroads would lay claim to millions of acres of Cherokee territory. If any of the statehood bills that were introduced regularly in Congress should succeed, the tribal governments would be at an end, land would be allotted to the individual members of the tribe, and the surplus lands would become a part of the public domain, available for white settlement or for satisfaction of the land grant subsidies to the railroads. In addition, the Cherokees opposed the use of valuable timber and coal for the construction and operation of the railroads. They also protested the criminal element which followed the construction crews into the Indian country.

There were, however, those among the Cherokees who favored the railroads and generally these people favored the whole package: the allotment of lands, the opening of the area for white settlement, and statehood for the Indian Territory. They argued that the opening of the lands would benefit the Indian, that the sale of lands would finance the tribal educational system, and that statehood was inevitable anyway. The most outspoken of this latter group was Elias C. Boudinot.

Unfortunately, the Cherokee fears were not unjustified. Representatives of the tribes in Washington were constantly examining and reporting on legislation regarding the railroads. Protests and memorials prepared by these delegations were distributed to the members of Congress and

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64 *Indian Chieftain* (Vinita), August 15, 1901.

widely circulated to the press.[65] This constant exposure of the land grant problem was at least partly responsible for delaying a decision on the question. While Congress readily passed bills authorizing the building of railroads in the Indian Territory, it seemed reluctant to seize outright the land being sought by the railroads.

The railroad brought new business which in turn brought the white intruder, the individual illegally in residence inside the Indian lands. Some of these people were good, some were criminal. Under the Indian Intercourse Law of 1834, it was a violation to bring liquor into the Cherokee Nation.[66] Whiskey peddling after the entry of the railroads became a critical problem. Fort Gibson was described as "a rendezvous for desperate characters who bought and sold liquor."[67] After the fort was abandoned on September 30, 1871, it became necessary to recall the troops[68] in May, 1872 to control "the hordes of gamblers, whisky *[sic]* sellers and thieves" that came with the Katy into the Indian Territory.[69]

Hundreds of emigrant wagons followed the Katy, Hoping to establish farms and homes along the right-of-way or on the Indian lands which would come into the possession of the railroad. If need be, these would-be settlers would go on to Texas. Fearful that the tribe would lose much of the sparsely settled section in the northern part of the Nation, tribal leaders urged their young men to settle this area before the railroads could assert their claims.[70] Later complaints show

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65 Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942), p. 209.

66 Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation,* p. 262.

67 *Ibid.,* p. 263

68 Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "General Benjamin Henry Grierson," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXIV (Summer, 1946), p. 212.

69 Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "General William Babcock Hazen," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XX (December, 1942), p. 335.

70 *Cherokee Advocate* (Tahlequah), January 24, 1874.

the resentment of the Indians over having to allow additional land for stations and depots. An editorial on the subject pointed out that the danger was not so much the railroad itself, "for a large portion of the Indians would favor it, but it is in allowing the railroad company 'twenty acres' of land at each ten-mile station, on a route three hundred miles long--in reality planting thirty or forty small towns among the Indians." [71]

Náive as their reasoning may seem, the Indians refused in 1886 to allow surveyor's instruments to be used in constructing the first telephone line in Indian Territory because they believed that a surveyed line was the first step to building a railroad.[72] When the Frisco proposed a line through Tahlequah late in 1889 the local newspaper editorialized that they hoped the railroad would "miss the 'old town' a mile or two since we don't want the capital depopulated and 'the railroad would sure run 'em out.'" [73]

Over the years between the Civil War and statehood, there was a continual erosion of Indian rights. Treaty-making authority was taken from the Indians by Act of Congress on March 3, 1871.[74] After the passage of the Railroad Act of 1886, the federal government asserted jurisdiction over the Indian lands and exercised the right of eminent domain. [75] The Curtis Act which in effect destroyed the tribal governments was passed by Congress over vigorous Indian opposition and became law on June 28, 1898.[76] A general right-of-way act passed on March 2, 1899, permitted the building of railroads, telephone and telegraph lines through the Indian Territory upon compliance with rules and regulations prescribed by the Department of Indian

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71 Editorial, *Cherokee Advocate* (Tahlequah), March 16, 1881.

72 Eula E. Fullerton, "The Telephone in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XII, (September, 1934), p. 253.

73 *Indian Chieftain* (Vinita), November 7, 1889.

74 Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation,* p. 259

75 *Ibid.,* pp. 259-60.

76 Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma,* p. 298.

Affairs.[77] Until this date the authority to the railroads had been based on special acts of Congress. Statehood was now only a question of time.

Until 1895, the Katy, Atlantic and Pacific (later the Frisco) and the Kansas and Arkansas Valley were the only railroads in the Cherokee Nation. By 1900 two more lines had been added and in 1907 there was a total of nine lines and branches in the Cherokee Nation.[78]

When the Katy obtained their charter to build in the Indian Territory it "had conditionally been granted 1,824,000 acres of land."[79] Subsequent adjustments and additions pushed this projected claim to 3,100,000 acres.[80] The insecure financial position of the Katy complicated by its inability to validate the land grant made this railroad very aggressive in lobbying for the establishment of a territorial government in the Indian country. On May 17, 1907, just six months prior to the admission of Oklahoma to the Union, the Katy filed suit in the United States Court of Claims for recovery of $61,287,800 for damages from the government for renéging on the land grant. The company lost their case in the lower court and appealed to the United States Supreme Court. On November 9, 1914, the lower court decision was affirmed.[81]

Once the railroads came so did the white population. Whether their entry was legal or illegal really made no difference since their very presence meant the eventual incorporation of the Indian Territory into a state.

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[77] *Ibid.*, p. 336.

[78] Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation*, p. 260.

[79] *Ibid.*, 259.

[80] Masterson, *The Katy Railroad*, p. 60n.

[81] Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma*, p. 293.

ROBERT ALEXANDER HEFNER
1874 - 1971

By Justice Denver Davidson

Judge Robert A. Hefner was born February 7, 1874, and departed this life in January, 1971, at the age of ninety-seven. He married Eva Johnson in 1906. Mrs. Hefner was a highly educated woman who received two degrees from North Texas University. She received a Bachelor of Philosophy degree from Baylor University, and, after graduation, became a member of the faculty of Baylor University. Mrs. Hefner passed away in 1962 after she and the Judge had had over fifty years of happy married life.

Judge Hefner was not born with a silver spoon. On the contrary, he was born in a two-room house with a plow in one hand and a sheep herder's staff in the other. He was born in Hunt County, Texas, and at the age of ten moved with his family in a covered wagon to Stephens County, Texas, a distance of 185 miles. The family's possessions consisted of some meager pieces of clothing, a few oxen, a covered wagon and a few cooking utensils. The trip was concluded at the end of thirty days.

Soon after their arrival in Stephens County, his father bought 160 acres of unimproved land, on credit, for $3.00 per acre. For living quarters, they constructed a dugout twelve by fifteen feet, about five feet below the surface of the earth, with the roof consisting of split logs covered with dirt three feet above the surface. There was no partition in the dugout so the entire family - father, mother and five small children slept, cooked and ate in the one room.

When Robert Hefner was twelve his father undertook the task of taking care of some three thousand sheep for a large sheep owner. His father was to get one-half of the wool and one-third of the lambs for his work. The duty of caring for the sheep fell upon Robert. While caring for the sheep he lived by himself in a tent and did all of his own cooking, usually consisting of bacon, beans and coffee. While tending the sheep he read the Bible and many books including the biographies of the presidents.

ROBERT ALEXANDER HEFNER

Robert Hefner never had the opportunity to attend grade school or high school regularly. By the time he had reached twenty-one he had managed to get a total of nine months of schooling. He had a relative who sent him books that he read and studied at night. At the age of twenty-one he entered North Texas Baptist College where he studied Latin, algebra, geometry, and other related subjects. When he reached the college, he had exactly thirty-five cents in his pocket. He secured his tuition on credit and worked his way through school without financial help from anyone. He taught school during the summer months.

As a young lad, Robert Hefner had made up his mind he wanted to become a lawyer and at age twenty-five he entered the University of Texas and three years later received his L.L.B. degree. He graduated with high honors, and the year after his graduation, he was chosen for a fellowship in law and taught law classes at his Alma Mater for a year.

At the age of thirty, just after the great Spindletop Oil Field was discovered, Mr. Hefner moved to nearby Beaumont, Texas, where he became a member of the law firm of Parker, Hefner and Organ. This firm became the division attorneys for the Southern Pacific Railroad just seven years after Mr. Hefner had first ridden on a train. During his partnership, he had some important litigation in the Indian Territory near Ardmore, Oklahoma, and in 1909 he withdrew from the law firm and moved to Ardmore. In 1911, he was elected President of the Board of Education of Ardmore and served in that capacity for a decade. In 1919, he was elected Mayor of Ardmore and served in that capacity until 1926. He was always civic minded and served as president of the Chamber of Commerce as well as president of the Rotary Club. He built an extensive and lucrative law business in Ardmore that was in the heart of the oil country (Carter) where he represented a number of major oil companies. He specialized in oil and gas matters and was considered one of the outstanding authorities of the State in all phases of this field. He also invested all of his spare money in buying lands and mineral rights which later proved to be productive of oil.

His election to the Supreme Court of Oklahoma in 1926, by a large majority, necessitated his move to Oklahoma City. While serving his six year term on the Supreme Court, Judge Hefner had the reputation of a hard working justice who was never swayed by public opinion, political winds nor political pressure. With his experience and talent in the oil business, both as a producer of oil and as an authority in oil and gas litigation, he was assigned many cases involving oil and gas litigation and a number of opinions written by him are landmarks followed by Oklahoma courts and other states. After oil and gas was discovered in Illinois one of the members of the Supreme Court of that State said that the Illinois court followed the Oklahoma oil and gas decisions almost exclusively. Had Judge Hefner chosen to run for reelection, he would doubtless have been elected, perhaps without opposition, from either major party.

Judge Hefner was the principal in the organization of the Hefner Oil Company which today has many proven oil reserves and is considered one of the outstanding independent oil and gas producers in the Mid-Continent field.

In 1939, Judge Hefner was drafted by civic leaders and was elected Mayor of Oklahoma City. He was reelected four years later, but refused to run for a third term. Many improvements were brought to Oklahoma City during his administration such as the construction of Lake Hefner water supply, the $15 million city development bond supply, and the establishment of the Midwest Air Depot, now Tinker Field, which is the largest Air Materiel installation in the world. He is also given credit by civic leaders of bringing the "Master City Plan" to Oklahoma City.

Judge Hefner held many positions of honor such as President of the State Municipal League of Oklahoma, President of Dads' Association of the University of Oklahoma, Vice-President of the Navy League of the United States, a director of the Oklahoma Historical Society and of the Oklahoma City Young Men's Christian Association, and trustee of Oklahoma Baptist University. He was an honoree and member of the Oklahoma Hall of Fame.

Time and space here will not permit the telling of the many lodges and organizations to which this man belonged. During all of his public life there was never a suspicion or suggestion of wrong doing against him. He was always a strong advocate for the things that were right and a formidable foe to anything wrong.

Judge Hefner would have been a fine Governor of this State or a distinguished United States Senator. His thoughts and actions would always have been for the best interests of his state and nation. His actions would have been centered on what he could best do for his state or nation and not what the state or nation could do for him.

Judge Hefner was an outstanding, life-long member of the Baptist Church. His motto was "Have faith in God and faith in your work." This good man left two sons, Robert Alexander, Jr. and William Johnson Hefner; three grandchildren, William Johnson Hefner, Jr., Mrs. Michael Chumo and Robert Alexander, III; and five great grandchildren, including Robert Alexander Hefner, IV. The whole State of Oklahoma mourned his passing. Judge Robert A. Hefner in his life and in his deeds was a great American.

THE 1858 WAR AGAINST THE COMANCHES

*By Brad Agnew**

Texas had been a state only thirteen years when John Butterfield's Overland Mail linked East and West with the nation's first regular transcontinental postal service. A series of relay stations marked the route of the Butterfield coaches along the edge of the Texas frontier. Johnson Station in West Texas looked like the usual frontier homestead constructed without the benefit of a saw mill. The rough-hewn, two-room log cabin served as office, living quarters, and kitchen for the seven men and one woman employed by Butterfield to maintain stock and equipment and service the four stages that passed each week.

Three of the men assigned to care for the horses had hobbled the animals and moved them outside the station corral to graze one day in late March. Without warning, a party of 250 Comanche warriors swept down upon them. Abandoning their horses, the three men reached the cabin before the Comanches overtook them. The horses at first seemed to be the object of the Indians' attention, but when their attempts to remove the chain hobbles failed, their interest shifted to vengeance. The horses were the first recipients; since the hobbles could not be removed, the warriors hacked off the animals' legs. The Butterfield employees, stockaded in the storage room of the log cabin, watched the mutilation of their herd without offering resistance.

If the Texans hoped the Comanches would be satisfied with the destruction of their horses, they were mistaken. After challenging the defenders to come out and "fight fair," the Comanches set the cabin afire. Forced from their fortification, the defenders kept the Indians at bay until one

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brave announced his intention of having the woman. Her husband replied with his rifle; as the offending Indian fell, his comrades swarmed toward the Butterfield employees. Both the woman and her husband were wounded, but the beleaguered Texans held off the Comanches until the arrival of the mail coach.[1]

The attack on the Butterfield relay station was not an isolated event. All along the Texas frontier during 1857 and 1858 bands of Comanches raided and pillaged.[2] Isolated farm houses and travelers were constantly exposed to the danger of attack. To the Comanches, who considered themselves the allies of the United States, Texans were aliens. The Texans had been the enemy of the tribe since the Spanish period and annexation of Texas by the United States failed to alter the traditional enmity between Texans and Comanches.

Federal authorities had tried to reduce friction by the creation of a Comanche reservation in northern Texas in 1855.[3] The project was doomed from the start; a small number of Comanches agreed to try reservation life, only to be blamed by their white neighbors for depredations committed in the area. Texas frontiersmen grew increasingly discontented with Washington's policy of pacification which they regarded as Indian coddling. The Comanche raids of 1857 galvanized this discontent. That year Hardin R. Runnels was elected governor of Texas on a platform that included a pledge to provide adequate protection to the frontier. About the same time personnel changes in the War Department produced a hardening of the attitude toward the Indian problem.[4]

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1 Josiah W. Wilbarger, *Indian Depredations in Texas* (Austin, Texas: Hutchings Printing House, 1889), pp. 84-86.

2 U. S. Congress, House, *Executive Document,* No. 2, 35th Cong., 2d Sess., Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 248-49.

3 Clara Lena Koch, "The Federal Indian Policy in Texas, 1845-1860," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* XXXIX (October, 1925), p. 99.

4 Robert M. Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue: The United States Army and the Indian 1848-1865* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967), p. 128.

Brevet Major General David E. Twiggs, a cold, ill-tempered veteran of the War of 1812, was appointed commanding general of the Department of Texas in May, 1857. He advocated a new strategy designed to halt the Comanches' frontier raids by carrying the fighting to their sanctuary above Red River.[5] Upon assuming command he ordered a concentration of troops assigned to his department at Fort Belknap on the northern frontier of Texas.[6] Plans for a spring campaign were almost complete when orders were received directing Twiggs to send his troops to Kansas to rendezvous with units marching on the Mormon strongholds in Utah.[7]

Governor Runnels shared Twiggs' concept of frontier defense. He proposed that a regiment of Texas mounted volunteers be raised and equipped at federal expense for duty on the Comanche frontier. To Congressmen in the security of the House and Senate chambers, Indian raids seemed a much less pressing problem than they did to the pioneer farmer who had just watched his livestock stolen, daughter slain, and farm burned. The bill to authorize the mounted troops bogged down in Congress. When Congress faltered, Runnels redeemed his campaign promise by pushing a bill through the legislature to enlarge the Texas Rangers and place them under a unified command. One member of the Texas legislature commented that the bill was passed "not so much to furnish protection to the frontier by the State, as to bring on an action with the Comanches and to give notice to the Federal government of its neglect in not protecting us."[8]

The reorganized Ranger regiment was ordered to the northern edge of the frontier and directed to cooperate with the army in its campaign against the Comanches. As senior

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5 U. S. Congress, House, *Executive Document*, No. 2, 35th Cong., 2d Sess., Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 258-59.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 253.

7 George F. Price, comp., *Across the Continent with the Fifth Cavalry* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1883), p. 66.

8 Lucy A. Erath, "Memoirs of George Bernard Erath," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 1923, p. 151.

captain of the Rangers, Runnels selected John S. Ford, a forty-three-year-old veteran of the Indian wars whose tenacity would be proved eight years later when he routed an eight hundred-man Union force six weeks after Lee's surrender. Runnels' instructions were short and to the point. "I impress upon you the necessity of action and energy. Follow any trail and all trails of hostile or suspected hostile Indians you may discover, and if possible, overtake and chastise them, if unfriendly." [9]

Tenacity was precisely the quality required to protect the Texas frontier. Political infighting and personal rivalries hampered the organization of the Ranger force even before it could move into the field. But Ford's greatest challenge was to instill discipline in a rowdy assortment of Texans and to transform them into a tightly-knit fighting force responsive to command. From the time of Josiah Harmar's debacle in 1790, hastily organized militias had an unpleasant habit of crumbling in the face of the enemy. And Texans, in particular, could recall several inglorious episodes in their recent military history. But Ford was no Harmar; when his command marched northward from its camp near Fort Belknap in North Central Texas, it was fully prepared to face the Comanches even without the assistance of Twiggs' diverted army troops.

Years of frontier warfare provided Ford with an appreciation of Indian combat. The Indian's tactic was to draw his enemy into single combat where the white man's advantage of better organization would be lost. For example, the Comanches often appeared to break and run as a means of compelling their adversary into a foolhardy pursuit. Conventional drill and training without an appreciation of Indian warfare were no guarantee of vistory. Ford's drill and training program reflected an understanding of the red man that most army commanders had heretofore lacked.

One element of Ford's command was drawn from the Brazos reservation located near the Rangers' camp. The

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[9] John Salmon Ford, *Rip Ford's Texas,* ed. by Stephen B. Oates (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1963), p. 224.

Caddoes, Tonkawas, and other small bands assigned to the reservation were eager to leave the dusty fields they were being taught to cultivate. Warring against a neighboring tribe was more satisfying to them than plowing. These reservation Indians readily volunteered to serve as auxiliary troops and as spies for the Rangers in seeking out the Comanches. The Indian forces were led by their agent, Shapley P. Ross, a long-time resident of the Texas frontier.[10]

Until 1858 frontier protection was based on a policy of defense, because the semiarid homeland of the Comanches had been considered impenetrable.[11] "The intention was, from the beginning," wrote Ford, "to carry the war into the hunting grounds of the Comanches and of their confederate tribes, to let their families hear the crack of Texas rifles and feel the disagreeable effects of hostile operations in their own camps.[12] By early April, 1858, Ford's intelligence had located a band of Comanches believed to have been largely responsible for the depredations of the year before.[13] Camped far north of the scenes of these Texas raids, along the banks of the Canadian River near Antelope Hills in Indian Territory, the Comanches would not be expecting an attack.

Several weeks more were needed to complete training, recruit the last men, and purchase necessary equipment. On the morning of April 22, Ford marched north with his 102 Rangers. A few days later they rendezvoused with Ross's 113-man Indian auxiliary.[14] Numerically, Ford's force was greatly outnumbered. Some of the bands that had raided the Texas frontier the year before numbered over 250 warriors.

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10 *Ibid.*, pp. 221, 228-29.

11 Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1952), 302, and U.S. Congress, House, *Executive Document*, No. 2, 35th Cong., 2d Sess., Vol. II, Part 2, p. 258.

12 Ford, *Rip Ford's Texas*, p. 225.

13 W. J. Hughes, *Rebellious Ranger: Rip Ford and the Old Southwest* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), p. 137.

14 Ford, *Rip Ford's Texas*, p. 229.

The total number of Comanches wintering along the Canadian was unknown but using the most conservative estimates of their strength, the Indians outnumbered the Texans and their allies five or six to one. The Comanches were skilled warriors and unequalled horsemen; man for man they were probably a match for the Rangers. However, the Indians' superior numbers and physical prowess were negated by their inability to organize for combat.

The end of the first week found Ford's command camped on the north bank of Red River. The column moved slowly because of the baggage wagons and the daily hunting expeditions required to keep the men supplied with fresh meat.[15] Marching northwest from Red River, Ford ordered patrols out to reconnoiter his route and to guard his flanks. Signs of the Comanches became more common. On the morning of May 11, one of the Rangers' scouts reported to the senior captain that he had observed a lone Comanche butchering a buffalo. Fearing that his presence would soon be discovered, Ford decided to leave his wagons and baggage and strike out for the Comanche winter camp with all possible speed. Several hours of hard riding brought the Rangers and their Indian allies close to a large Indian village. Ford decided against an immediate attack, which would have been complicated by the approaching darkness. Rather, he planned to move his troops up carefully at night and launch a savage assault at first light. Spies were sent out to reconnoiter the route, but their failure to return in time left Ford no choice but to wait until full daylight before launching his attack.

At dawn the next morning the Rangers mounted and moved directly toward the enemy. Their advance was slowed by a small Comanche camp, which was quickly captured. Resistance was light, but several warriors managed to reach their ponies and escape across the valley to alert the other camps. The Rangers followed at full speed; topping the last rise south of the Canadian River, they saw a large Comanche camp on the north bank. The Comanches, now alerted to the Texans' presence, quickly mounted and rode out to meet the

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15 *Ibid.*, pp. 229-31.

Rangers. After crossing the river, Ford deployed his forces into a line with the friendly Indians in front and to the right. The senior captain hoped to mislead the Comanches into believing that they were confronted by Indians armed mostly with bows and arrows.[16]

As the opposing forces drew into battle formation, the medicine man of the village galloped to the front. With supreme confidence, he approached the Rangers. Named for the armor that encased his body from neck to thigh, Iron Jacket believed himself to be indestructible. The Rangers quickly proved that he was misinformed.

At the sight of their medicine man crumbling to the ground, the Comanches' confidence collapsed: They broke and ran.[17] As they fled, the Rangers dashed forward in pursuit. The battle stretched for miles along the plains as the Rangers ran down stragglers. Ford's strategy was fully justified. The effectiveness of the Ranger pursuit never allowed the Comanches to regroup and make a stand.

In the action, which lasted several hours, at least seventy-six Comanches were killed and many more wounded, hundreds of Indian ponies taken, and sixty prisoners captured.[18] From one of the captives it was learned that several other large bands of Comanches were encamped in the vicinity. Rather than permit further pursuit of the fleeing enemy, Ford ordered his Rangers and Indian allies to

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16 *Ibid.*, pp. 232-33.

17 A less flattering version of this episode was related by George W. Paschel, one of the Rangers wounded during the engagement. Paschel wrote that when the Rangers attacked, most of the warriors of the village were away hunting buffalo. Further, he maintains that Iron Jacket was shot while riding toward the Rangers under a white flag. Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A story of a State and Its People,* 4 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1929), Vol. I, p. 71.

18 Ford, *Rip Ford's Texas,* pp. 236-37.

reassemble near the abandoned village.[19] As the command regrouped, the hills overlooking the village began to fill with Comanches. They hoped to lure a part of Ford's command into a situation in which he and his allies could be overwhelmed, but the senior captain anticipated the Comanches' intentions and after a brief engagement, ordered a withdrawal to the lightly guarded baggage train. The Comanches, unwilling to confront the entire command, allowed the Rangers to leave the village without opposition. For the Tonkawas, the battle had been rewarding for they had defeated one of their traditional enemies. Dangling from their ponies hung blood-covered Comanche hands and feet as trophies of the victory.

Ford's losses were surprisingly light in view of the character of the battle. One Ranger and one Waco had been killed and three men had been wounded. Despite this strike at the enemy's heartland, Ford recognized that he had opened a new phase of frontier defense rather than eliminating the Comanche menace. He had demonstrated that properly trained and equipped men, led by experienced officers, could pursue the Comanches onto the plains and successfully engage them, but the Comanches were still a powerful adversary.

Ford had promised to let the Comanche "families hear the crack of Texas rifles" and he lived up to his word. A new type of warfare was being pioneered. Chivalry was no longer among the possessions of armies in the field. Ford excused the killing of women by emphasizing the difficulty of distinguishing "warriors from squaws," but his jokes concerning the deaths of Indian women and children indicated his real indifference to the sex and age of his victims.[20] Within a few years officers in the Civil War would show the same indifference to non-belligerents. Romantic war was fast becoming total war, and Ford was helping to blaze the trail.

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[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 235-36.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 234, 236.

After the battle near the Antelope Hills, Ford withdrew to his base camp in North Texas. The success of the May campaign apparently convinced Governor Runnels of the merit of Ford's tactics. After studying the reports of the battle, Runnels instructed his senior captain to continue building the Ranger organization. However, before a new campaign could be mounted, frugality overcame martial spirit in Austin. On July 6, Runnels ordered the discharge of the Rangers.[21] The governor had not abandoned Ford's plans, merely his means of implementing them. Rangers were a costly drain on the Texas treasury. Accordingly, Runnels mounted a concentrated effort to obtain either federal troops or funds. Congress still refused to act, but a truce in the Mormon War allowed the War Department to rescind the order to send the troops in Texas to Utah. Concentrated at Fort Belknap, these soldiers could now be brought to bear against the Comanches.[22]

While Texans were seeking federal assistance in solving their Indian problems, other victims of Comanche depredations proposed a different solution. East of the Cross Timbers in Indian Territory, the Choctaws and Chickasaws were formulating plans to defend themselves from Comanche incursions.[23] The withdrawal of most of the troops from Indian Territory to participate in the Mormon War in Utah left the civilized tribes unprotected.

Douglas H. Cooper, the Choctaw agent, requested permission from his superiors to organize a native police force to protect the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations. He wrote, "It is believed that with a police force of not exceeding one hundred men, law and order can be preserved among the Choctaws and Chickasaws."[24] He further

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21 Hughes, *Rebellious Ranger,* p. 151.

22 Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue,* p. 130.

23 Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report,* 1858, p. 157.

24 Cooper to Mix, April 5, 1858, Washington, D. C., Micro Copy 234, Roll 834, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1857-62, Southern Superintendency, frame 282.

recommended that an arms depot be established at Fort Smith so that the tribes he represented could be armed for self-defense.[25] As the Comanche threat assumed more ominous overtones, Cooper apparently discussed the possibilities of leading an expedition of civilized Indians beyond the Cross Timbers to overawe the Comanches and their allies.[26]

Reports reached Cooper that the Comanches, angry at what they called an unwarranted attack upon them by the Texas Rangers, were laying plans to attack the depleted garrison of Fort Arbuckle and seize the stores of arms and munitions that were stockpiled there.[27] Hostile Indian activity around Fort Arbuckle seemed to substantiate this report. Cooper ordered Chickasaw and Choctaw volunteers to protect the fort until troops sent from Texas could secure it. The arrival of the troops from Texas, under the command of Lieutenant James E. Powell, did little to reassure the civilized Indians. Numerically inadequate to protect this border area under ordinary conditions, the company of infantry that finally reached Fort Arbuckle was rendered almost helpless by illness and the rigors of the march from Texas.[28]

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25 Cooper to Mix, April 5, 1858, Washington, D. C., *Ibid.*, frame 277-79.

26 No letter can be found which indicates Cooper wrote the Secretary of Interior concerning such an expedition. However, while he was in Washington he could have discussed such an expedition with the Secretary in person. Cooper's later claim that he had the Secretary's approval makes this seem likely.

27 Jones and Brown to Mix, September 14, 1858, Micro Copy 234, Roll 830, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1857-62, Southern Superintendency, frame 360-61.

28 Cooper to Rector, July 21, 1858 (report of Cooper's expedition), *Ibid.*, frame 436.

Cooper decided that a show of force in Comanche territory was now essential.[29] On July 1, the Choctaw agent accompanied by seventy-two friendly Indians marched toward the Wichita Mountains to "ascertain with certainty whether there were any considerable bodies of Comanches within the Choctaw and Chickasaw country. The first sign of Comanche activity was encountered on July 3 near Red River. From the Wichitas Cooper learned that a small party of Comanches, remnants of the band attacked by Ford and Ross, had ridden into Texas pledging to obtain revenge or lose their lives in the attempt.[30]

Before the end of the first week the July heat was exacting a toll on both men and animals. For several days the expedition camped along Cache Creek near the eastern slopes of the Wichita Mountains.[31] Resuming its march, Cooper's command passed ruins of old Kichai and Wichita villages and then swung northeast. Still no bands of Comanches were

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29 Whether he was acting on his own or with the concurrence of the Secretary of Interior was questionable. In his report he maintained that he was acting "strictly in conformity with verbal instructions" from the Secretary of Interior. However, the filing notation on the report reads, "Major Cooper is entirely mistaken in supposing that the Secretary of the Interior gave any verbal instructions authorizing him to raise a troop of Indians to regulate the wild tribes of the West." *Ibid.*, frame 434-35.

30 *Ibid.*, frame 436.

31 Cooper later reported that he believed this area to be of strategic importance in controlling the Plains tribes. Close to the Canadian and Washita Rivers, the location "commands the mountain passes through the Wichita Mountains to the Antelope hills to the north branch of Red River and also the road on the South side of the Wichita mountains up Red river." Cooper concluded that military forts on the eastern and western slopes of the Wichitas could protect the Texas frontier and "render it almost impossible for the Indians to commit depredations in that state." Cooper wrote these recommendations on July 21. In September federal army units from Texas moved to the western slopes of the Wichitas and established Camp Radziminski. About a decade later Fort Sill was located on the eastern slopes near the spot recommended by Cooper. Whether the army acted upon his recommendations cannot be determined, but the eventual establishment of Radziminski and Sill supports Cooper's evaluation. *Ibid.*, p. 439.

encountered. Ford turned his column toward the new Wichita village on the headwaters of Rush Creek. The agricultural Wichitas were a peaceful, sedentary tribe who normally found themselves in an uncomfortable position between the Comanches and their enemies. Their village of some 150 conical mud and straw lodges on the western boundary of the Chickasaw Nation and eastern fringe of the Comanche territory was a point of contact between the opposing elements. Both sides could communicate with and obtain intelligence about the other through the Wichitas, and both found the tribe a convenient whipping boy for real and imagined wrongs. Cooper's Delaware Indian guide, Black Beaver, reported "the Wichitas are in constant dread of the Comanches on one side and the Texans on the other." As subsequent events proved, the Wichitas' fear was not without grounds.

The Wichitas told Cooper there were no Comanches south of the Canadian River. The main body of the tribe was reported to be on the North Fork near the Salt Plains. Apparently after the battle on the Canadian, the Comanche bands had moved farther north to an area considered more secure from the Texans. By no means had they forgotten Ford's attack. The Wichitas informed Cooper that "seven bands of Comanches had leagued together to make war on Texans in revenge for Capt Ford and Agent Ross attack on them."[32]

Satisfied that the Choctaws and Chickasaws were in no immediate danger from the Comanches, Cooper turned his column toward Fort Arbuckle. He reached the post on July 16 and disbanded his Indian volunteers. In reporting the results of his expedition, Cooper said, "It will disabuse their [Comanches'] minds of the idea that the Chickasaws and Choctaws . . . are afraid to go out on the plains and convince them that no depredations on the frontier will be allowed to pass unpunished." [33]

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[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 440, 442.

[33] *Ibid.*,

How wrong Cooper was became quickly apparent. A few days after he wrote these words a strong band of Comanches penetrated to the walls of Fort Arbuckle in the Chickasaw Nation. After terrorizing the area, the marauders withdrew with a large herd of stolen horses. The purpose of this raid, according to Wichita informants, was to obtain a large enough stock of horses to enable the Comanches to launch a massive attack on the Texas frontier settlements. Lieutenant Powell, the commanding officer of Fort Arbuckle, ordered immediate pursuit. The idea of a twenty-eight-man force pursuing a raiding party of at least four times that number is vaguely amusing, but to send infantry after mounted Comanches was patently absurd?[34] The Comanches were not apprehended. Cooper reported, "The Indians laugh at the idea of a man on foot being placed to guard and protect the property of people against their warriors mounted on fast horses ridden by the best horsemen in the world." He expressed the hope that the President would authorize a new regiment of Texas Rangers and order the Federal cavalry at Fort Belknap into Indian Territory.[35]

About two weeks after the Comanche raids in the Fort Arbuckle vicinity, military authorities learned that bands of Comanches, Apaches, Cheyennes, and other Plains tribes were collecting on the Canadian River near the Antelope Hills. The friendly Indians believed they planned to raid the Texas frontier. The commander of Fort Gibson relayed this information to General Twiggs in Texas.[36]

Meanwhile at Fort Arbuckle, army officers arranged a meeting for August 21 with the Comanches and several other allied tribes. Lieutenant Powell, who represented the army at the conference, reported the Comanche leaders acknowledged that their young warriors had raided the

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[34] U.S. Congress, House, *Executive Document,* No. 2, 35th Cong., 2d Sess., Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 417-418.

[35] Cooper to Mix, August 19, 1858, Micro Copy 234, Roll 830, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1857-62, frame 292.

[36] U. S. Congress, House, Executive Document, No. 2, 35th Cong., 2d Sess., Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 420-21.

Chickasaw frontier. The chiefs explained that the raid was prompted by an unprovoked attack that spring by a force of Texans and reservation Indians who had stolen three hundred horses. When the young braves returned from their raid they told tribal leaders the horses were seized below Red River. Upon learning from the Wichitas that the animals had been obtained in the Chickasaw Nation "they were very angry and seized as many of the horses as they could in order to return them to their owners." The Comanches appeared genuinely willing to restore all stolen property and to attempt to cooperate with Lieutenant Powell in terminating hostilities.

Before the meeting was adjourned, Powell outlined a procedure for restoring good relations between the civilized and plains tribes. The Comanches agreed that their principal chiefs would come to Fort Arbuckle with as many of the stolen horses as they could recover and talk to the commanding officer. Powell assured the Comanches that land had been set aside for their tribe in the area west of the Chickasaw Nation. The Comanches seemed satisfied with these arrangements and their subsequent actions indicated their intention of complying with them.

A week after the negotiations with the Comanches, the commander at Fort Arbuckle complained to his superiors at St. Louis of Military activity by Texas volunteers north of Red River. He stressed that they were not only in violation of the Indian treaties and acts of Congress but also an interference which made it "impossible to preserve intact our obligations with the tribes of this nation." [37]

In Texas other events were occurring that would frustrate Powell's attempts to win the Comanches' friendship. Ford's spring campaign provided temporary relief from Comanche depredations, but as fall approached and Texans learned of the attack on the Choctaws and Chickasaws, their fears were again aroused. With the resolution of the Mormon problem, Federal troops were once again available for Indian duty. General Twiggs, probably influenced by Ford's success against the Comanches, suggested a vigorous offensive

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[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 421-23.

designed to harrass the Comanches in their own country year round.[38] On August 9, the War Department approved Twiggs' recommendation. The general issued special orders dated August 28, 1858, just seven days after Lieutenant Powell's peace overtures were accepted by the Comanches. These orders directed Major Earl Van Dorn to lead four cavalry companies and a detachment of infantry into Comanche country and to follow any Indian trail without regard to departmental boundaries. The Major, a West Point graduate and veteran of the Mexican War, could be counted on to carry out his orders to the letter.[39]

Van Dorn, like Ford, sought the assistance of Shapley P. Ross's reservation Indians as spies and auxiliaries. While preparations for the campaign were still under way he directed Agent Ross's son, Lawrence Sullivan (Sul) Ross, to march north immediately with a band of 135 friendly Indians and establish a supply depot north of Red River on Otter Creek.[40]

By late September Ross had led his Indian auxiliaries to a point on Otter Creek near the southwestern slopes of the Wichita Mountains, where he established a base camp for the main body of Van Dorn's command. This camp was named Radziminski in honor of a Polish cavalry lieutenant who had recently died of tuberculoses. Ross sent two of his men, a Waco and a Tehuacano, to the Wichita village to gather intelligence on the Comanches' activities. Upon approaching the village they discovered that a large band of that tribe was camped nearby. Concealing themselves until after dark, the spies stole two horses and returned to camp with their information.

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38 *Ibid,* p. 423

39 Walter Prescott Webb, *The Texas Rangers: A Century of Frontier Defense* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1935), pp. 159-60.

40 Rupert Norval Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (Glendale, Calif.; The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1933), p. 238.

Van Dorn left Fort Balknap on September 15 and reached the Otter Creek camp four or five days after Ross.[41] When the Indian spies reported that a Comanche encampment was forty miles northeast, hasty log fortifications were thrown up and the heavy equipment and wagons were left with the detachment of infantry. The rest of the command prepared for a forced march to the Comanche camp.[42]

The column that marched from Camp Radziminski on the afternoon of September 29 was an élite force. Mounted on sturdy Kentucky-bred horses, most of the soldiers were native-born Midwesterners, better conditioned to frontier duty than the immigrants who constituted the majority of personnel in many infantry units. The men were armed with carbines, new Colt revolvers, and sabers.[43]

Van Dorn planned to ride all night and storm the camp at dawn the next day, but his spies had underestimated the distance to the Wichita village by fifty miles. The troops marched through the night, but dawn still found them far from their objective. Van Dorn pushed on; by the evening of the second day the troops were still in the saddle; through the second night the major forced his command without allowing time to dismount and rest.

By daylight of October 1, the column was still four miles west of the conical lodges of the Wichitas. A little later the command topped a hill overlooking the Comanche encampment near the Wichita village. The gait was increased and orders were issued to prepare to deploy. Events moved

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41 Letters from L.S. Ross reprinted in John Henry Brown, *Indian Wars and Pioneers of Texas* (Austin, Texas: L.E. Daniell Publisher/n.d./), p. 112. Ross served Texas first as an officer of Indian scouts, later a Confederate officer, governor of Texas, and finally president of Texas A. and M. College.

42 *Ibid.*

43 Testimony of L.S. Ross in *The United States vs. The State of Texas,* Supreme Court of the United States, October Term, 1894, No. 15773 in Equity. Micro copy in Manuscripts Collection, University of Oklahoma, p. 954.

swiftly from this point; the charge was sounded and the "whole command poured down onto the enemies' camp."[44] The force of the charge was reduced by the ravines surrounding the village, giving the inhabitants time to rally. For almost an hour and a half the antagonists engaged in bitter hand-to-hand combat. The Indians fought with unusual determination.[45] For them, retreat was complicated by the necessity of covering the flight of their families and the loss of horses, stampeded by the friendly Indians accompanying the white troops. One officer estimated that there were nearly five hundred Indians in the encampment at the time of the attack. Van Dorn's troops finally secured the village and the surrounding area.

The victory, according to the major, was "complete and decisive." The bodies of fifty-six Comanches were counted in the vicinity, and many more were presumed to have been killed. Over 300 horses were captured and the entire camp of 120 lodges burned. Strategically, the loss of food, weapons, and ammunition was just as damaging to the Comanches as the loss of men. With winter approaching, such losses meant suffering and starvation. The unfortunate Wichitas' losses were also great. Their lodges were destroyed, horses stolen, and fields ruined. Even worse, the Comanches believed the Wichitas had conspired with the army against them. Over the next few years the Comanches missed few opportunities to exact revenge.

Van Dorn's casualties were light in view of the nature of the combat. One officer and four enlisted men were killed and twelve wounded. Among the seriously wounded were Van Dorn and Ross. The Major had been struck by two arrows and appeared close to death. His description of his condition is proof that, though waning, romanticism had not completely disappeared in the conduct of war.[46]

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44 Testimony of Patrick Larkin, *Ibid.*, p. 683.

45 Joseph B. Thoburn, "Indian Fight in Ford County in 1859," *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Societ,* 1911-1912, Vol. XII, p. 314.

46 U.S. Congress, Senate, *Executive Document, No. 1,* 35th Cong., 2d Sess., Vol. II, p. 272.

When I pulled the arrow from me the blood flowed as if weary of service and impatient to cheat me of life, spilling like red wine from a drunkard's tankard. It was sublime to stand thus on the brink of the dark abyss, and the contemplation was awful. I had faced death often, but never so palably [*sic*] before. I gasped in dreadful agony for several hours, but finally became easy, and now am well. My noble, faithful horse stood over me where I fell and looked the sympathy he could not utter, and if I had died there I would not have been friendless. If several soldiers had not come up just as I was shot, I would have been stuck as full of arrows as Gulliver was by the Lilliputians, and my best friends could not have picked me out from among a dozen dead porcupines.

Since the site of the battle was closer to Fort Arbuckle than the base camp on Otter Creek, Van Dorn sent an express there to obtain medical assistance. Several days after the battle the wounded were evacuated to Fort Arbuckle. Despite his serious condition Van Dorn refused to accompany the wounded. He returned with the main body of his command to Camp Radziminski a few days after the battle.[47]

At the headquarters of the Department of Texas, General Twiggs received news of the battle about the same time a copy of the *Washington Star* arrived. The newspaper contained an article about the peace negotiations planned by the commander of Fort Arbuckle and the Comanches camped near by. The general, who had not been informed of these negotiations by the War Department, realized that his troops had not only destroyed any prospects for peace but also had attacked a camp of Comanches who had been promised protection by another army commander. More in disgust than dismay, Twiggs reported to Army Headquarters, "There ought to be some concert of action. One of us has made a serious blunder."[48] Blunder or not, on October 19, Twiggs took "great pride in publishing to the department [of Texas] the signal success of the command under Brevel Major Earl Van Dorn . . . over the Comanche Indians."[49]

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47 Burnet to Burnet, October 11, 1858, Camp at Wichita Mountains, quoted in Raymond Estep, "Lieutenant Wm. E. Burnett: Notes on Removal of Indians from Texas to Indian Territory, *"The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXVIII (Autumn, 1960), p. 284.

48 Quoted in Thoburn, "Indian Fight in Ford County in 1859," p. 315.

49 U.S. Congress, Senate, *Executive Document, No. 1,* 35th Cong., 2d Sess., Vol. II, p. 275.

Most military personnel overlooked the unfortunate blunder that sent armed troops storming into a village that was attempting to make peace. A letter to Van Dorn dated October 18, 1858, from an officer stationed at Fort Belknap is typical of reaction among army officers. The officer congratulated Van Dorn on his "brilliant success" which he called "one of the handsomest fights which any of our troops have had with the Indians in some years." A few paragraphs later he wrote, "The Pacific Overland Mail [Butterfield Overland] is a success. . . . We get letters and papers in nine days from Washington and N. York."[50] Although the Comanches would threaten the frontier for years to come, the campaigns of 1858 temporarily increased the security of Butterfield employees like those at Johnson Station.

Offensive operations against the Comanches continued into the next year. Van Dorn and Ford eventually coordinated their efforts in probing into the Comanche sanctuary. The Civil War interrupted and delayed the final assault on the Comanches, but the tactics pioneered in 1858 eventually drove the powerful tribe to its knees.

[50] U.S. Congress, House, *Executive Document, No. 2,* 35th Cong., 2d Sess., Vol. II, Part 2, p. 267.

FREEDMEN IN INDIAN TERRITORY DURING RECONSTRUCTION

*By Walt Willson**

After the Civil War, the Federal government and the states where slavery had been a practice were faced with the question of what to do about the freedmen. The Black Codes were the answer of the southern states while the Federal government established the Freedmen's Bureau. In Indian Territory the problem of the former slaves also existed, and the Five Civilized Tribes-Cherokee, Creek, Seminole, Choctaw, and Chickasaw Indian Nations - were similarly faced with the question of what to do with their Negroes. The main difference between the situation confronting these Indian Nations and that of the Southern States was that the Indians had neither help nor hindrance in solving their difficulties. Except for the rather limited interest of some Indian commissioners, the Five Civilized Tribes were on their own. This lack of guidance from the government was to create numerous obstacles for the Indians in their efforts to resolve their own freedmen problems, and the net result of the Indians' attempts was a mixture of policies. The Seminoles were completely successful in their treatment of the freedmen. The Cherokees and the Creeks had a freedman situation also, but generally managed to work things out. On the other hand, the Chickasaws and Choctaws had serious trouble with their former slaves - difficulties which extended past the end of reconstruction. Were these difficulties inevitable, or could some program of guidance from the government have eased the situation?

The Civil War had been disastrous for the Five Civilized Tribes. The Cherokees and Creeks were both badly split. During the War, Union and Confederate factions of these two tribes had fought throughout the Indian country. Union troops, freedmen, and freebooters had aided the Indians in devastating the countryside. The war ended, but the strife between rival factions among the Indians continued. Throughout the five Nations the war had left its mark.

The author is a former graduate student of Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Professor of History and Civil War era specialist at Oklahoma State University. This article was written while the author was a member of Dr. Fischer's research seminar.

The Choctaws and Chickasaws were not as badly affected by the war, since they had almost unanimously supported the Confederacy and, therefore, had not known the devastating effects of a returning Union faction. The Seminoles were in poor condition with about half of the tribe existing on rations from the Federal government. The Cherokees and the Creeks had suffered the most by far. The division of these two tribes during the war had caused great destruction as one faction fought the other. Invading Union and defending Confederate armies had desolated the land, taking what goods they needed and destroying the rest.[1] During the war, fine homes had been destroyed, fences torn down, stock run off, and farms ruined.[2] Among the Creeks, former slaves were intermarrying with some of the Indians.[3] In the Chickasaw Nation, Negro freedmen from Arkansas and Texas were entering the tribal lands. As a result, the Chickasaws became insistent on the removal of the freedmen to other areas.[4] In addition to the actual destruction caused by the war, the Cherokees were so badly divided that they could not rely on each other for assistance and were dependent on the Federal government for food, clothing, tools, and everything else needed to stay alive.[5]

To add to the problems of the Five Civilized Tribes, they had to make new treaty agreements with the United States. They, as nations, had been allied with the Confederacy, and thus new treaties were necessary. A new item which had never been part of negotiations between the Indians and the Federal government was freeing their slaves and providing for their adoption into the different tribes. This issue caused

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[1] United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1865,* (hereafter cited *Annual Report, Indian Affairs,* with date and pages).

[2] Hugh T. Cunningham, "A History of the Cherokee Indians," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. VIII (December, 1930), pp. 426-427.

[3] Ohland Morton, "Reconstruction in the Creek Nation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. IX (June, 1931), p. 172.

[4] Parthena Louise James, "Reconstruction in the Chickasaw Nation," 1865-1877 (Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, Stillwater: Oklahoma State University, 1967), p. 33.

[5] United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report, Indian Affairs,* 1865, p. 206.

trouble in at least three tribes. Among the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, the freedmen question created difficulty between rival tribal factions and between Indian tribes and the Federal government.

The Treaties Of 1866

On September 8, 1865, representatives of the Civilized Tribes, plus a few other tribes who had signed treaties with the Confederacy, were called to a meeting with Federal Commissioners in Fort Smith, Arkansas, to discuss the terms of new treaties. Delegates from the northern and southern factions of the Cherokees, northern and southern Creeks, northern and southern Seminoles, northern and southern Choctaws, and the Chickasaws were present. The delegates were given the propositions which were to form a basis for the new treaties. With respect to slavery, there were two stipulations: Slavery was to be abolished and measures taken to incorporate the slaves into the tribes with full rights of citizenship; there was to be a general proclamation totally abolishing slavery. The Fort Smith conference lasted until September 12, and northern and southern factions of the tribes presented their opinions.[6] Although terms for new treaties were agreed upon at Fort Smith, the final treaties were not accepted by the tribal governments, especially the Choctaws. For several months, the situation was vague and unsettled.

What were the reactions of the civilized Indian to the freeing of the slaves and adopting them as citizens of their nations? There was little opposition to the actual freeing of the slaves for the Union army had already accomplished this in a most effective manner. But when it came to adopting these former slaves into the nations, a different reaction set in. For all practical purposes, the Choctaws and Chickasaws were completely opposed to the idea. Generally, they continued to treat the negro freedmen as they had before the war.[7] The Seminoles, on the other hand, had intermarried with the Negroes to a great extent before coming to Indian

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[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 202-4.

[7] Annie H. Abel, *The American Indian Under Reconstruction* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1925), p. 284.

Territory and legal adoption into the nation was only a formality in their case.[8]

The reaction varied in the Cherokee and Creek nations. The northern Creeks had promised their slaves freedom and equality when they had retreated into Kansas in 1862. This promise was regarded as a sacred pledge which had to be kept in spite of any opposition from the southern Creeks.[9] Among the Cherokees, the southern faction, led by Stand Watie and Elias Cornelius Boudinot, thought the United States government should remove the freedmen from Cherokee Country at its own expense. The northern Cherokees, under the principal chief, Lewis Downing, wanted them adopted into the tribe and given an area of land for their exclusive use.[10]

The Fort Smith conference had not come up with a treaty that any of the Five Civilized Tribes would accept. In the early part of 1866, delegates from the various factions of the tribes met in Washington, D. C., in an attempt to get better terms than at Fort Smith. These meetings yielded treaties which were acceptable to the tribal governments. In the meantime, what had the Federal government done about the Negro freedmen in the Indian nations?

In the period between the Fort Smith council of 1865 and the Washington treaties of 1866, the Federal government had heard reports that the freedmen were being mistreated and were being held as slaves. The Indian Affairs Office sent Major General John Sanborn to look into the matter. Sanborn was also authorized to use supplies from the Freedmen's Bureau to alleviate any hardship among the freedmen.[11] Sanborn arrived in Indian Territory in November of 1865. After a tour of the Indian Nations, he found many things that needed correction and made at least one suggestion which could have prevented much trouble during the next twenty years.

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8 *Annual Report, Indian Affairs,* 1866, p. 9.

9 *Ibid.,* p. 10.

10 Wade D. Foster, "The Federal Government and the Five Civilized Tribes During Reconstruction" (Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, Stillwater: Oklahoma State University, 1957), pp. 31-32.

11 *Annual Report, Indian Affairs,* 1866, p. 56.

Sanborn reported that the Creeks and the Seminoles were in favor of adopting their freedmen into those tribes and granting them equality.[12] This statement was not entirely true of the Creeks since the Confederate faction bitterly opposed such a policy and fought stubbornly against it.[13] He affirmed the division among the Cherokees over the question of adopting the freedmen. The Choctaws and Chickasaws were accused of mistreating the former slaves and even holding them in bondage. The Choctaw leaders acknowledged the difference in the Negro status. Some freedmen were driven away from their homes by their former masters. The same general conditions existed in the Chickasaw nation.[14]

Sanborn made several recommendations about the rights of the freedmen. One suggestion which could have prevented trouble was that the Negroes be settled on lands set aside for their exclusive use. Sanborn was not the only one who thought that this action would be desirable. The former Negro slaves of the Choctaws and Chickasaws wanted to remain in the territory on lands that were to be given them. The Union faction of the Cherokees wanted to give their freedmen an area of land for their sole use.[15] The Choctaws and Chickasaws wanted to move the Negroes to lands set aside for them outside of the two nations. If the Federal government had taken steps to give the freedmen acreages of their own, perhaps everyone would have been happy, and much trouble would have been avoided.

In April of 1866, Sanborn reported that the condition of the former slaves had improved to the point that his commission was no longer necessary. New treaties with the Indians were about to be ratified, and Sanborn thought that these treaties would adequately solve any problems that might arise between Indian and Negro.[16]

As has been noted, the Seminoles and Creeks favored adopting the freedmen although there was considerable

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12 Sanborn to Harlan, January 5, 1866, *ibid.*, p. 284

13 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

14 Sanborn to Harlan, January 5, 1866, *ibid.*, p. 284.

15 *Ibid.*, pp. 283-85.

16 Sanborn to Cooley, April 13, 1866, *ibid.*, p. 287.

opposition from the southern faction of the Creeks. The former slaves in these nations were satisfied and felt secure under the Indian laws and customs.[17] In the other tribes, the Negroes felt much apprehension and insecurity, believing that they were not properly protected by law.[18] The Cherokees, while badly split on this issue as well as on most questions, did not mistreat the freedmen. In general, the Cherokee freedmen were left alone for the time being. On the other hand, the former slaves of the Chickasaws and the Choctaws were in a poor position. Many were still in virtual bondage. Most of the others were apathetic because of the uncertainty of their future status and permanent location. Believing that they would soon be moved to an area set aside for them, they made little effort to improve their life. Promiscuity and outright polygamy among them was the general rule.[19]

By the middle of 1866, the five tribes had signed treaties with the United States to reaffirm their loyalty as nations. As far as the Negroes were concerned, all slaves were freed and slavery was permanently abolished. The issue of accepting them into the Indian nations as citizens was a difficult question.

The Seminoles concluded their treaty on March 31, 1866. Slavery was abolished, and the former slaves were adopted and given full citizenship. As stated earlier, there had been considerable intermingling of the two races before the Seminoles had been moved west. This condition, therefore, was already in existence. In fact, several of the interpreters had appeared to be entirely of African descent.[20]

The Federal government signed a treaty with the Choctaws and Chickasaws on April 28, 1866. Slavery was abolished in every form. In addition, the Government was to hold $300,000.00 (money due the tribes from the Leased District) invested at five percent interest, until the Choctaws and Chickasaws passed laws granting their former slaves full

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17 Sanborn to Harlan, January 5, 1866, *ibid.*, p. 285.

18 *Ibid.*

19 Lewis Anthony Kensall, "Reconstruction in the Choctaw Nation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XLVII (Summer, 1969), p. 151.

20 United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report, Indian Affairs,* 1866, pp. 9-10.

citizenship. These laws were to be passed within two years. When such laws were passed, three quarters of the $300,000.00 plus interest would be paid to the Choctaws and one quarter to the Chickasaws. If these laws were not passed, the money was to be used for the benefit of the freedmen, transporting them to another area and getting them started.[21]

The Creek treaty was completed on June 14. It contained the same provisions as the Seminole treaty, freeing the slaves and granting them equality with the rest of the tribe. There had been some difficulty in getting the southern Creeks to agree to the adoption of the freedmen. At one time, the entire treaty negotiations almost broke down over this issue. The Indian Commissioner advised the northern Creeks not to press the matter then, but "they held out firmly for their freedmen, urging that when brave old Opothleyoholo...stood out for the government, and led a large number of his people out of the country,...they promised their slaves that if they would also remain faithful to the government they should be as free as themselves." The northern Creeks now were determined to honor their pledge and were successful.[22]

The Cherokees concluded their treaty on July 19, 1866. This treaty abolished slavery and adopted the freedmen into the tribe, provided they were in residence in the Cherokee territory at the time of the signing of the treaty or returned to the Cherokee lands by January 19, 1867.[23] Since this provision necessitated changing the Cherokee constitution, an amendment was approved on November 26, 1866, granting citizenship to the Negroes. This amendment was made without consulting the southern Cherokees, who did not agree with the provision. However, the article was ratified, and the opposition was not able to have it revoked.[24]

The treaties of 1866 were designed to provide a final solution to the problems between the governments of the

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21 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

23 J. B. Davis, "Slavery in the Cherokee Nation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XI (December, 1933), p. 1071.

24 Hanna R. Warren, "Reconstruction in the Cherokee Nation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XLV (Summer, 1967), p. 184.

Five Civilized Tribes and the United States. As far as the question of the freedmen was concerned, the treaties were designed to bring the former slaves into the tribes on an equal footing or provide for their welfare in some other fashion. The Indian Commission thought that these documents would be sufficient to protect the rights of the freedmen. Sanborn held the same belief and asked that his office be dissolved.[25] This action proved to be unfortunate, since it left the decision on any problems involving Negroes to the Indian governments which might not take any action and to individual agents of the U. S. Government who might not be able to influence the decisions of the Indians.

The condition of freedmen in Indian Territory from 1865 to 1877 varied from tribe to tribe. Problems were to arise in several of the Indian nations, and the Seminoles were the only people who managed to live with their Negroes without any trouble. The other tribes were to have difficulties ranging from minor to severe.[25a]

The Creek tribe had only a few difficulties. Most of these stemmed from the change in the tribal government in 1867. The northern, or Sands, faction had been in power when the treaty of 1866 had been ratified. In 1867, Samuel Checote was elected principal Chief and his party composed of the leaders of the southern faction came to power. Many freedmen were alienated from this administration and stayed with the northern faction.[26] However, little was to come of this as far as the Negroes were concerned. There was a real problem which came about as a result of one of the stipulations of the treaty of 1866. In this treaty, $200,000 had been allotted to the Creeks to help restore their farms. This money was to be distributed among all the members of

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[25] United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report, Indian Affairs,* 1866, p. 56.

[25a] Some revisions have been made and data added by the Editor from this point in the article on "Freedmen in Indian Territory During Reconstruction," for the sake of needed clarification of the conditions as given in this presentation by Walt Willson.

[26] Robinson to Parker, August 1, 1869, United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report, Indian Affairs,* p. 841.

the tribe. During the distribution in 1869, the Negro citizens were excluded. The Creek leaders decided that adopted citizens were not entitled to any of the money. The United States Congress ordered the freedmen paid the same as any other Creek.[27] This instance was one of the very few cases where the Federal government took positive action on matters relative to the Negroes in the five Indian Nations. In spite of the few problems that did arise, the former slaves of the Creek Nation were in a better political position than any other except the Seminoles. In addition, by 1874, five of the thirty-one Creek schools were for freedmen. Only the Cherokees exceeded this record in providing for the education of the children of the Negroes who had been their slaves.[28]

The Cherokee freedmen were faced with a number of problems. Politically, the major difficulties had been solved when the treaty of 1866 was ratified, though the provision of the treaty requiring freedmen to return to Cherokee land in six months was to cause very serious problems in a few years. The former slaves who had been absent at the time of ratification and heard of the time limitation returned in most cases. Unfortunately some freedmen had to leave their families behind. Others did not hear of the time limit or were unable to return for some reason.[29] Negroes who returned after the limit were classed as intruders and were subject to removal. This provision would have created a number of hardships. Families would have had to be separated.[30] Other freedmen built farms and houses, thinking that they were citizens of the Cherokee tribe when they were not. In 1871, the Cherokee Supreme Court ruled that these people had no legal rights and were to be expelled as trespassers.[31] Despite

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[27] *Ibid.*, p. 840.

[28] United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report, Indian Affairs,* pp. 378-79.

[29] Davis to Robinson, October 1, 1868, United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report, Indian Affairs,* p. 741.

[30] Robinson to Taylor, November 16, 1868, *ibid.*, p. 736.

[31] Jones to Clum, September, 1871, *ibid.*, p. 984.

the urgings of the United States agents to the Cherokee legislature for a change in the law relating to the adoption of all freedmen who had lived in Cherokee country before the Civil War, the ordinance was never altered. However, Indian agent William B. Davis and his successor, John N. Craig, followed a lenient policy and allowed the intruders to remain.[32]

There were a few other problems among the Cherokee freedmen, but they were generally of a minor nature. One difficulty came about because the Negroes wanted to own their land individually while the Cherokee Council maintained the ownership of their tribal lands in common under their base title from the United States. Some government agents in 1871 favored the Negroes stating that there was more than enough land in the Cherokee Nation to give the freedmen 160 acres each.[33] The problem was later solved by setting aside enough land to allow each head of a Negro family a tract of 160 acres.

The freedmen in the Cherokee Nation were generally peaceful and caused no trouble. Neither did they take very much interest in politics.[34] The Cherokees made adequate provision for the education of Negro children at primary level, though it was many years until a Negro high school was established.[35] In 1872, seven out of the sixty public schools of the Cherokees were for Negro children.[36] The freedmen in the Cherokee tribe were in a good position overall. Politically, these Negroes were probably slightly worse off than the Seminoles and Creeks. Educationally, the freedmen

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[32] Warren, "Reconstruction in the Cherokee Nation," *op. cit., pp.* 185-6.

[33] Craig to Parker, September 30, 1870, United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report, Indian Affairs,* 1870, p. 753.

[34] Warren, "Reconstruction in the Cherokee Nation," *op. cit.,* p. 186.

[35] T. L. Ballenger, "The Colored High School of the Cherokee Nation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXX (December, 1952), p. 454.

[36] Cunningham, "A History of the Cherokee Indians," *op. cit.,* p. 428; and United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report, Indian Affairs,* 1874, pp. 378-79.

among the Cherokees were in the best condition of any of the Five Civilized Tribes, although the Creeks were not far behind.

In the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations, conditions for the former slaves were unsettled. These two tribes were most southern in outlook of any of the Indian nations, and the condition of the freedmen was unstable and insecure. The treaty of 1866 provided that the former slaves could be adopted into these two tribes and the tribes be paid the $300,000 due on the Leased District, or the Federal government would use the money to remove the Negroes. The Chickasaws and Choctaws did not adopt their freedmen nor did the Federal Government move them. This state of affairs caused troubles, and several Negro killings occurred. Indian agent Martin W. Chollar reported: "in my judgement nothing but prompt action on the part of the government will prevent more serious difficulties and complications."[37] Chollar recommended that the freedmen be moved to land west of the Seminole Nation.

The Choctaws and Chickasaws wanted the freedmen moved. The Negroes wanted to stay where they were but most of them were willing to move.[38] The former slaves who would work, in spite of the insecurity of their lives, became prosperous. Some had farms, some worked at a trade, some worked and made adequate wages. It was reported that many Negroes complained that "the world does not treat them well, because they are not supported in idleness."[39] Those Negro freedmen who were willing to work were able to take care of their needs better than most people in the Southern States at this time. Since they were not citizens of the Choctaw or Chickasaw nations, they could not claim the land they farmed.[40] The former slaves of these two nations were faced with still other problems. Since they were not citizens, their legal status was that of United States citizens residing in

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[37] Chollar to Robinson, n. d., *ibid.,* for 1868, p. 740.

[38] *Ibid.,* for 1869, p. 451.

[39] Olmstead to Parker, September 15, 1869, *ibid.,* p. 850.

[40] Olmstead to Parker, September 15, 1870, *Annual Report, Indian Affairs,* 1870, pp. 755-56.

the Indian country. This fact meant that the Negroes had no recourse to Indian courts but had to travel to Fort Smith whenever they had to go to court, a journey involving considerable expense and great difficulty. For these reasons, several Indian agents favored the removal of the freedmen to the unassigned lands west of the Seminole nation.[41] Specifically, the lands that the agents referred to were the vacant lands later opened to white settlement in 1889, west of the Sac and Fox and Potawatomi reservations.

Politically and educationally, the Choctaw and Chickasaw Negroes were in the worst position in Indian Territory. Although they were free, they did not have equal rights and privileges in the Indian nations. The Secretary of the Interior once announced that they had the voting right, but when the Indians opposed the measure, the Negroes would not vote for fear of offending them.[42] The freedmen wanted their children to be educated, but they remained ignorant, often in sight of schools.[43]

Why did the Chickasaws and the Choctaws refuse to adopt their former Negro slaves? The Chickasaws had always been hesitant to adopt anyone into their tribe.[44] They were a small, separate tribal group closely related to the Choctaws from very early times in history. By the terms of the Treaty of Pontotoc in 1832, the Chickasaws sold their tribal lands east of the Mississippi River to the United States for Cash, and five years later, came to the Indian Territory as the wealthiest tribe in annuities and Negro slaves. Practically every Chickasaw family had purchased a number of slaves to open up and tend new farms and plantations for their owners in the western country. By the terms of the Treaty of 1855 with the Choctaws and the United States, the Chickasaws organized their own government as the Chickasaw Nation in

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[41] Griffith to Clum, August, 1871, United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report, Indian Affairs,* 1871, p. 986-87.

[42] Parsons to Smith, October 20, 1873, United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report, Indian Affairs,* 1873, p. 577.

[43] *Ibid.,* for 1874, p. 381

[44] James H. Malone, *The Chickasaw Nation* (Louisville: John P. Morton and Company, 1922), pp. 416-17.

the central part of the Choctaw country. Here the Chickasaws prospered and their slaves increased in numbers. By the close of the Civil War, the Negro slave population far outnumbered the Indian citizenry in the Nation. The Chickasaws could not give citizenship and equal rights to the freed Negroes and thus surrender all their own rights of property and political entity to be outnumbered and lose their identity in their own country.

At the close of the Civil War, the Choctaws, generally more lenient to their Negroes than the Chickasaws, took action independently to make provision for the freedmen in the Choctaw Nation. The first Choctaw Council after the close of the War enacted a statute on October 14, 1865, which provided for jobs and welfare for the freedmen. Negroes who stayed with their former masters entered into contracts agreeable to both parties. In turn, the employer was to assume the responsibility for the care and welfare of the worker and his family. There was a set rate of wages based on the class of laborer. Men who did not stay with their former masters were to enter contracts under the same conditions with other citizens in the Nation. Former masters were responsible for aged and crippled Negroes who had been their slaves.[45] Choctaw leaders soon promoted schools for freedmen through federal funds in the hands of church mission boards. Freedmen in different Negro settlements furnished the schoolhouses, and the board furnished the teacher and the books. "Tuskalusa Academy" was built by appropriation of the Choctaw Council and maintained for many years as a highschool for Negro freedmen. "Oak Hill Mission" was opened about 1868 for freedmen living in a large Negro settlement near Red River, and continued as a school long after statehood. Any problems facing freedmen in the Choctaw Nation after the War arose from the refusal to grant them citizenship and the desire to have them removed. In October of 1875, Coleman Cole, Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation, recommended that the Negro freedmen be granted citizenship and forty acres of land each.[46] His

[45] Kensall, "Reconstruction in the Choctaw Nation," *op. cit.*, pp. 150-51.

[46] United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report, Indian Affairs,* 1875, p. 558.

recommendation was in line with the Treaty of 1866. Carrying out its provisions in relation to tribal finances and clearing up other problems that had arisen in the reconstruction period delayed carrying out Principal Chief Cole's recommendation, so it was not until May 21, 1883, that the Choctaw freedmen were granted citizenship rights.[47]

During the period of reconstruction, the Negro freedman had comparatively good treatment in the five Indian nations of the Indian Territory except in a few instances. In the Seminole Nation, they had been accepted quickly and there were no noticeable problems. The Creek Negroes had some minor problems but were not molested and were accepted into the tribe very well. In the Cherokee Nation, their fate had been undecided for a time but they were accepted. Some of them would have been legally classed as intruders yet were allowed to remain through the leniency of the U.S. Indian agents in the Cherokee Nation. The Choctaws and Chickasaws had given their Negroes freedom, and wanted them removed from the country having provided them $100 each through U.S. government payment for their removal. The Choctaws finally granted their former slaves citizenship though the only ones covered were those Negroes alive at the time of the Fort Smith conference in 1865.[48] The Chickasaws never did adopt their freedmen.

Negro freedmen in Indian Territory occupy an unusual place in the history of reconstruction. Within an area almost as large as any state east of the Mississippi, four different standards prevailed. The Freedman's Bureau was organized at the close of the Civil War but soon ceased to function leaving no Federal government agency to help them. In the Seminole, Creek, and Cherokee tribes, the Indians themselves were willing to give their former slaves citizenship. In the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations, the United States government was obligated to remove the freedmen to land set aside for their own use if the Choctaws and the Chickasaws

[47] Foster, "The Federal Government and the Five Civilized Tribes During Reconstruction," *loc. cit.*, p. 43.

[48] Loren N. Brown, "Establishment of the Dawes Commission for Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XVIII (June, 1940), p. 175.

failed to grant their former slaves citizenship within two years after the Treaty of 1866. When the freedmen were not granted citizenship in the two nations within the time set, the failure of the Federal government to move the freedmen was a clear violation of the Treaty. If the Federal government had carried out its terms of this treaty, some of the difficulties facing the freedmen would have been eliminated. They had proved that they could take care of their own needs for they generally prospered wherever they lived. Except for occasional interest, the Federal government had left these freedmen to work out their own problems and relationships in the two Indian nations where they lived. In some cases, this policy proved harmful to the freedmen.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Annual Index For The Chronicles

The *Annual Index* for 1970, compiled for *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* (Volume XLVIII) by Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist, is distributed free to those who receive the quarterly magazine. An order for the *Annual Index* should be addressed to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 73105.

Camp Gruber On Greenleaf Lake In World War II

Greenleaf Lake is still one of the smaller scenic lakes in eastern Oklahoma that recalls the great, U.S. Army training camp during World War II — Camp Gruber. The importance of Greenleaf Lake in the short history of this great training camp is contributed by its Executive Officer, Colonel Hal C. Horton who served here from 1943 to the end of the War:

How Greenleaf Lake Was Saved

During the first week in January, 1943, I reported as relief Executive officer at Camp Gruber, Oklahoma, which was about fifteen miles east of Muskogee, Oklahoma. I had been on duty as Executive officer at Camp Hood, Texas, during the year of activation in 1942. My orders stated my stay was for ten days. A short time after reporting at Camp Gruber, I received orders assigning me as Executive Officer at Camp Gruber and remained there for the duration of the war.

Duty at Camp Hood and Camp Gruber as Executive Officer was entirely new. I had had a little over two years duty in World War I as a line officer in command of troops. I loved troop duty. I went overseas in 1918 as a captain in command of Company C-144 Infantry, and commanding this company in battle from the Arnes Creek to the Aisne River for about twenty miles, where we had about forty casualties

of dead and wounded soldiers. My right arm was in a sling from a minor wound. While on this sector, I was promoted to Major and took command of the Third Battalion of the 143 Infantry and commanded this battalion during two days of action when orders came for a five day march for duty in the Argonne Forest where we were on duty when Armistice day on November 11, 1918 came. I was promoted to Lt. Colonel.

Camp Gruber was an ideal camp for training soldiers. The drill field was approximately a mile long. The terrain was rough and rugged and just right for combat exercises and very satisfactory for artillery firing and tank training. Green Leaf Lake is a man-made lake of about 3,500 square acres of clear cold water. There was a small creek that had been damned up and behind this dam was the lake. This was our water supply for Camp Gruber. The situation was ideal and the water was potable. When I reported for duty at Camp Gruber, I rode over the many miles of this large camp in order to have every part of it in my mind. I noticed that a very large stream of water was coming from under the dam and running down the stream under the highway bridge. The post engineer informed me that after the dam had been built and the lake was full of water some fault structure had broken loose, and was spilling about 6,000,000 gallons of water daily. I was further informed that the War Department was very apprehensive about the water situation. Borings of holes were made along the base of the dam in an endeavor to find the leakages. If any were found, concrete would be pumped in the underground waterway to stop the leakage. Many other plans were tried all to no avail. The leakage continued to drain the lake.

The year 1943 was a year of excessive rainfall. In the month of May, 1943, Highway No. 10 east of Muskogee was covered to a depth of not less than thirty feet. No apprehension was felt during that rainy year. The year 1944 was a very dry year, especially during the last half of the year as very little rain fell and the water in the lake receded and nearly dried up. We at camp headquarters were very apprehensive about this as the lake was our only water

supply. It looked as if the lake would run dry and a movement of the camp would be inevitable.

During the winter of 1944 and 1945, it was especially cold. One Sunday morning I got my shotgun and went duck hunting. I stopped my car close to the dam and walked up to the top hoping some ducks would be in the edge of the water. The lake appeared frozen over but there, about 100 yards away, a flock of ducks were swimming in some open water.

Then instantly it came to my mind that here was the opening for the leakage under the dam. I hurried back to Camp Gruber, and informed the post engineer, Major Strange. We went back to my ducks, which were still swimming around in the unfrozen circle.

We both discussed what action to take and finally agreed to say nothing to any person until we tried our experiment. The next day, Major Strange assembled all of his dump trucks and loaders, and started building a ramp from the edge of the lake out to the unfrozen water hole. Major Strange started dropping large rocks into it and immediately we saw the water running under the bridge show dirt coloring, and knew we were hitting the heart of the trouble. Then the water hole was filled up to and over the level of the lake and the spillage was completely stopped, we agreed to hold silent for two days for safety's sake. After two full days of no leakage, we reported our action to the Camp Commander by taking him out and stopping on the bridge and asking him if he saw any water going under the bridge. His first words were "What have you two fools been up to?" We then walked him up to the top of the dam and he saw the ramp out to the end of the covering ramp. The stoppage was complete and I understand remains so today.

—Colonel Hal C. Horton (Retired)
U. S. Army

Greenville, Texas

Story Of Front Cover Photo

The Reverend Jim Pauaty speaking at Guy Quoetone's birthday celebration on October 10, 1969, made this observation on an Indian boy just starting to school at Anadarko (Notes from Julie Jordon whose article on "Oral History" appears in this issue of *The Chronicles):*

> "Now you begin to search hard in way of life preparation. You were told that there was a school nearby for Indian boys and girls. Your father took you and knocked on the door of civilization and presented you for admittance to the mission school near Anadarko known as J. J. Methvin Institute, that was founded in 1890. You were accepted in that school. And the first unwelcome initiation that you experienced was a haircut. J. J. Methvin called in four of his fastest men, strongest men, to catch you and subdue you to cut your hair."

BOOK REVIEWS

A History Of The Indians Of The United States. By Angie Debo. (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press. Pp. 358. $8.95.)

Dr. Angie Debo, the well-known author of several books in the field of Indian history presents this new volume from her extensive research of the American Indian. *A History of the Indians in the United States* is listed in "Civilization of the American Indian" series published by the University of Oklahoma Press.

The first sentence of the preface indicates the area and scope covered: "From the landing of the first Europeans on the shores of the United States to the present the history of the nation has been influenced by its aboriginal inhabitants to a degree far out of proportion to their numbers." She also quotes a statement from Oliver LaFarge in which he says, "The United States has undertaken a serious experiment, an attempt to help some 450,000 (now 550,000) people of a totally different culture adapt themselves to the white man's culture."

Dr. Debo points out that the uninformed often burst out in shrill speech and bitter denunciation of the treatment of these people of the American Indian, yet it is only the student of history who can evaluate how much was done by well-meaning people who did not understand the problem and acted according to preconceived ideas of what was best to do and how to do it.

Dr. Debo refers to the present handling of the native Alaskans as a repeat of actions taken by the United States Congress during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in their dealings with the American Indians. "What have we learned from these centuries of cruelty or blundering on the one side and the tragedy on the other?"

The story encompasses the period of Indian history from the earliest contact with the Indians in North American, their

homeland, to the present and their attempt to find a place for themselves in the social, political and cultural life of the white man's world. There is understanding if not pathos in the story of the Indian's attempt to defend his land, his governments, his religion and his social culture.

With the establishment of the United States, President Washington faced the problem of trying to reconcile the white man's demand for land which the American Indians claimed, and the promises which had been made them in accepting help from the Indian during the late war. The first treaty between the United States and an Indian tribe was made with the Delaware tribe in September, 1778. The last treaty has not yet been made since the United States Congress is presently dealing with the Indians and Aleuts in Alaska in an attempt to settle title to some forty-two million acres of land. The question of returning forty-eight thousand acres to the Taos Indians has recently been settled, returning the land to the tribe.

The removal of various tribes from their homelands in different parts of the U.S. is discussed in detail in a factual, unemotional manner, pitting the Indian's love of his land against the white man's greed for land, presidents and congresses, Indian agents and military might. This is a tragic story. Many treaties were made with different tribes, in some cases several made with the same tribe. These treaties often caused friction within the tribe since some of the tribesmen favored removal, others opposed it. Thus, ill feeling was engendered causing dissention within some of the tribes for more than a generation.

Another account given of intruders on lands assigned to the Indians showed how the government agents and the army either could not or would not keep intruders from the lands held by the Indians under treaty promises.

The author tells of the adjustments which the Indians made after their removal and discusses in some detail the Indians which had been removed to Indian Territory and their part in the War Between the States. The ill feeling which

was caused over the removal intensified division in the tribe with some members fighting on the side of the Confederacy and others on the side of the Union.

The last chapter in the book, "The Indians Find New Hope," contains statements from leaders from many tribes on the activities of the U. S. Corps of Engineers in constructing dams on land belonging to tribes in the southwest.

The book closes with a poignant valedictory and prophecy made by Chief Pleasant Porter in 1900: "The vitality of our race still persists. We have not lived for naught. We are the original discoverers of this continent, and the conquerors of it from the animal kingdom, and on it first taught the arts of war and peace, and first planted the institutions of virtue, truth and liberty. The European nations found us here and were made aware that it was possible for men to exist and subsist here. We have given to the European people on this continent our thought forces . . . We have made ourselves an indestructible element in their national history . . . The race that has rendered this service to the other nations of mankind cannot utterly perish."

Numerous illustrations of people and places add interest in Dr. Debo's new work. The bibliography is a storehouse of valuable references, extensive and complete. Credit is generously given to authors of other works in the field of Indian history.

Any citizen of the United States, particularly a citizen of Oklahoma, will find Dr. Debo's latest publication factual, thought provoking and challenging.

—Eula Fullerton

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Indian Skin Paintings From The American Southwest. By Gottfried Hotz. Trans. Johannes Walthaner. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970. pp. 234. Illus. Maps. Index. $9.95.)

Indian Skin Paintings From The American Southwest is volume ninety-four of the Civilization of the American Indian Series of the University of Oklahoma Press.

In this book Gottfried Hotz, curator of the Indian Museum in Zurich, Switzerland, has attempted to determine the origin of two wall-sized skin paintings that are in Lucerne, Switzerland. These paintings were shipped to Europe by Father Phillipp Segesser, an eighteenth-century Jesuit missionary to the Indians of Sonora Province, Mexico.

The paintings, Segesser I and Segesser II, are some of the best preserved skin paintings in the world. Hotz was faced with a formidable task in determining their origin. He tried to identify to surroundings in each of the paintings and even attempted to identify the individuals represented in the scenes.

Using historical records to support his assertions, Hotz was able to eliminate many of the false assumptions concerning the origin of Segesser I. He did not concentrate on either the participants shown in the painting or the surroundings, but used both to arrive at a possible conclusion. Hotz was able to limit the possibilities by a careful elimination of those Indian tribes that did not conform to the manner of dress exhibited in the painting. He restricted the area which the painting depicted by a close examination of the topography represented. Hotz was not entirely convinced that he had located the exact spot which served as a model for the artist, but he was satisfied that he had determined the correct tribe.

An even more remarkable effort was Hotz's examination of Segesser II. Here European soldiers, along with Indians, were represented in a battle scene. His careful observation of each detail of the clothing and weapons of each participant depicted in the battle scene was crucial for his final evaluation. He was able to correlate his observations with existing Spanish colonial records and arrived at a sound conclusion as to the identity of the actual event. His knowledge of geography made it possible for him to refute

local legends and pinpoint the actual spot where the event took place. After reading Hotz's evidence, the reader has no doubts that the battle was actually the massacre of the Villasur expedition.

Hotz's approach to the problem allows the reader to appreciate the methodology used in solving the puzzle. The careful elimination of each false assumption leaves little doubt as to the reliability of each of Hotz's suppositions. The serious reader will be grateful to Hotz for his efforts. Hotz has solved another mystery in the history of the American Indian.

—Robert E. Smith

Stillwater, Oklahoma

A Law of Blood: The Primitive Law of the Cherokee. By John Phillip Reid. (New York University Press, New York, 1970. $10.00.)

Cherokee history is, as a rule, a rewrite--a gloss upon a gloss. Analytical interpretations have been missing from most Cherokee studies. Few writers even bother to ask the whys of tribal history. The typical chronicler of the Cherokee repeats the tired old cliches of miraculous civilization and the eternal virtue of John Ross.

John Phillip Reid is a highly respected legal historian whose judicial biographies have served as models for that *genre. Law Of Blood* is Reid's first venture into the legal history of an Indian culture. The study seeks to picture "the primitive customs of the Cherokees from the perspective of law and history."

The author has succeeded in recreating the ancient legal system of the Cherokees. To accomplish this purpose Reid was forced to abandon "the conventional literature of the law" and "the materials from which most legal history is fashioned." He purposefully rejected an anthropological perspective which he argues "has different values, seeks different answers, and uses different methods of proof."

Professor Reid not only asks significant questions but his book provides stimulating answers. The research and documentation is meticulous. *Law Of Blood* is Cherokee history as history should be written. One suspects that the use of the analytical tools of legal anthropology might have broadened the focus of the final chapters. And yet, the book is remarkably free from ethnocentrism. The historical perspective serves the readers well.

Many of the analytical interpretations will provoke controversy especially the conclusions concerning the ancient Cherokee religious complex. But Reid's case is well briefed and ready to go to the jury. Those who are tired or re-reading the re-writes of Cherokee history will find this study both refreshing and stimulating.

Law Of Blood is a significant book not only as a contribution to the understanding of the relationship of law and man but also for a deeper insight into the nature of the Cherokee as a people. For as Reid notes: "Law is the signet of a people." And the "Cherokee's triumph was that they turned to American common law, converted it to their own use, and made it work."

—Rennard Strickland

San Antonio, Texas

Confederate Operations In Canada and The North. By Oscar A. Kinchen. (North Quincy, Mass. 1970. Pp. 254. $4.95.)

As the fortunes of the Confederacy declined, the leaders at Richmond would endeavor to capitalize upon any disloyal movement that might arise behind Union lines. Such a development did take place within the states of the upper Mississippi Valley. In opposition to the war measures of the Lincoln administration, this movement would eventually encourage the Confederate leadership to make the most of the reputed disloyality in that section in the latter stages of the Civil War.

Confederate plans, based on uprising in the north, were many and complex with Canada being used as a base of

operations. Plots were made whereby raiding parties were to secure arms in order to attack Union prison camps to release Confederate soldiers. Other raids were to be made along the border to create havoc and fear among the residents. By this action, it was hoped to draw Union troops away from the front lines. The infamous raid on St. Albans, Vermont was one of the more successful ones although it created more resentment than fear.

Many of the Confederate hopes for an uprising in the north were based on the activities of a secret organization calling themselves *Sons of Liberty*, but who were commonly called, *Copperheads.* Their objective was to overthrow the Lincoln government, but their plots were discovered and suppressed.

Though a great deal of unrest and anxiety was caused by Confederate activities in Canada and the northern states, it will be seen that they greatly overestimated the military potential of this giant secret society organized against the Union government in the last year of the war. As it turned out, their readiness for action was largely theoretical. Neither was the Confederacy able to send invasion forces into Kentucky or Missouri to encourage uprising in the Northwest. If they had been even partially successful, they might have helped to force a negotiated peace.

The author, Emeritus Professor of History at Texas Tech University, has thoroughly researched this little known phase of the Civil War. Using Confederate records and private correspondence, he documents this phase of the bitter conflict that is often neglected in history books. It is a tremendously valuable book to Civil War Students. The bibliography is excellent.

—Arthur Shoemaker

Hominy, Oklahoma

Sentinel To The Cimarron: The Frontier Experience of Fort Dodge Kansas, By David K. Strate. (Dodge City, 1970. Maps. Illus. pp. 117)

The author has written an interesting narrative of Fort Dodge, Kansas. The study is sufficiently detailed so that the

reader is able to follow the fort's progress from sod huts to stone quarters, while at the same time general enough so that the reader is not exhausted with an enormous amount of detail. The book presents the thesis that Fort Dodge in its conception, formative years, and later life served a dual function: first, to protect the commercial links between east and west, and second, to control the Indians who were living in the area. Completing the story, the fort was abandoned in 1882 and rechartered in 1890 as an old soldiers' home.

The chapter, "Soldiering on the Plains," is the most interesting portion of the book. In it the author describes the daily routine of the soldier. It shows that life was difficult, but far from boring. Punishments imposed by court martials for offenses that enlisted men committed were not brutal nor excessive. In fact, only one instance of cruelty was recorded. The trooper of the 1860's and 1870's had almost the same problems that the modern military man faces, and in some respects the solutions then and now are the same.

Unfortunately, the books suffers a few deficiencies which detract from an otherwise valuable work. His style is unimaginative and dry. He holds faithfully to the tenet that the same noun should not be used twice in the same paragraph, and in so doing, the writer bores his reader. In simple language, it still reads like a dissertation. On pages 40 to 47, the author narrated the Hancock-Custer campaign against the Indians in the summer of 1867. Footnotes numbers 99 and 100 are slightly misleading, for the author states that the Seventh Cavalry was ordered "to surround the Indians." This implies that the entire regiment of 1239 officers and men were involved, while his source, Theodore R. Lewis, "A Summer on the Plains", *Harpers Magazine*, XXXVI (May, 1868), p. 295, stated that only about "600 men of the Seventh Cavalry..." were involved.

On page 43, Strate wrote that "more than eight hundred deserted during this single season of campaigning." His source, the Lewis article in *Harpers Magazine*, stated, that in less than one year the Seventh Cavalry had lost by desertion nearly 800 men. This is an error. The source material failed

to account of a 200 man difference. The *Report of the Secretary of War*, 2nd Session 40th Congress, Volume 1, 1867-1868, page 47, shows in a detailed breakdown of campaigns against the Indians that Custer never had more than six troops with him at any one time. Assuming that the units were at full strength, that would be almost 600 men, but one can seriously question if the units were at full strength. That same report, page 475, also shows only 512 desertions for the period from October 1, 1866 to September 20, 1867.

In spite of these shortcomings, the author has made a contribution to the preservation of frontier history. In this respect, he is to be commended. He provided maps, charts, and pictures which enhance the value of the work. His index is accurate and guides the reader quickly to the desired entry.

—Donald E. Houston

Stillwater, Oklahoma

The United States Soldier Between Two Wars: 1865-1898. By Jack D. Foner. New York, 1970. Pp. 229. $7.50.)

This particular segmentized history of the United States Army reads as though it might have been written with reference to today's army. Problems concerning discipline, desertion and discipleship of the devil plagued the army then, as now. Although a high rate of desertion during wartime might under certain circumstances be considered understandable, the return of peace did nothing to improve this condition. By 1871, desertions reached 8,800; almost one-third of the Army's enlisted strength.

Much of the problem lay with the fact that the Army became "a dumping ground" for all sorts of misfits. This was due to two factors: First, recruiting was haphazard in the extreme; men were enlisted with little or nothing known about their present or past circumstances. It was said "No squad of recruits enlisted in New York leaves the city without containing faces familiar to old city detectives." Second, Army pay of this period was not conducive to attract men of high calibre.

The life of the soldier during this period was one of extreme hardship; often the soldier was little more than a manual laborer. On frontier posts much time was occupied with building permanent military facilities; and, little or no time was devoted to instruction in the basics of riflery, military tactics, etc. This in itself had an extremely demoralizing effect on those troops who would otherwise have made good soldiers.

At this time the Army was operating under the Articles of War which had been adopted in 1777 and had managed to survive with little or no revision. They often contained provisions that were relics of the past and bore little significance to the needs of the time. As a result, the Army's legal system proved to be a time-consuming one for officers and enlisted men alike, with both often devoting an undue portion of their time in its administration. Many officers were literally sick of court-martial duty. The smallest infraction was punishible by court-martial and guardhouse always contained numerous personnel awaiting trial.

However, reform did come in many areas. The legal process was greatly enhanced by allowing petty matters to be handled in a summary manner, if the enlisted man concurred, eliminating Court-martial for many trivial matters. Pay was increased, which had the general tendency to attract a higher calibre of men, although depressed economic conditions tended to have the same effect.

There is no comparison between the position of the Negro soldier then, as now. He was given the most menial of tasks to perform. When actually assigned to perform military duties, often as not, it was at the farther most reaches. On the whole the Negro soldier compiled an enviable record during this perios. He presented little difficulty that the Army often experienced with regard to desertion and alcohol. His military abilities were aptly demonstrated during the Indian conflicts of the period.

—Wendell E. Howell

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Localized History of Potawatomie County to 1907. By Charles W. Mooney. (Oklahoma City, 1971. Illus. Bibliography, Pp. 315. $7.00.)

Local history is the genesis as well as the anchor block of any system of recording and perpetuating the history or the heritage of a people. As is local government, local history is an extremely personal subject and is one in which everyone, even the most casual, feels that he has participated and has had a part. Yet oddly enough, it is a field so often overlooked or ignored by those contributing to the writing and the recording of history, choosing instead the history of some culture or cause. Being as intensely personal as it is, local history more easily generates divergent opinions or retorts, for there is always a descendant or relative handy who is eager to present some other version of the principal actors whose affairs are so recorded.

Colonel Mooney has indeed exhausted the subject of the local history of Pottawatomie County. It is inconceivable how many separate and distinct facts and circumstances he has crammed into the 315 pages. Obviously he spent several years in driving each section line road of the region, in probing the memory of anyone he could induce to answer his questions and in visiting every grave plot or cemetery.

His list of sixty-four "ghost towns" reads like an obituary of the past dreams and glories of those who settled each locality. The entire volume is a veritable encyclopedia of local fact.

A few sleeping dogs have been kicked into wakefulness, such as the "true" location of the 1835 peace barley between the S. Commissioners and the Indians. The author frankly admits he anticipates rebuttal. Yet, as with the law, the advocacy system is the one best designed to reach the ultimate truth, so here the author's firm advocacy of his conclusions will ultimately benefit us all.

—George H. Shirk

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

No Drums or Thunder. By Irene Brown Bartel. (San Antonio, 1970, Pp. 83. $3.95.)

Life in frontier Oklahoma during the final years of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was more than difficult — at times it was almost impossible. The men and women who endured and settled in the territory suffered extreme hardships and faced primitive conditions in all facets of life. They had few shopping facilities, no modern conveniences, and often inadequate shelter. Dust storms, tornados, and blizzards made life even more miserable.

For those years few people kept diaries, and letters usually have been discarded by unappreciative heirs. Thus in a fast-changing and technological world, the descendants of those pioneers have lost sight of life during a less complicated age. One of the few ways that posterity can recapture a view of the past is through personal reminecences of families that braved the hardships, suffered the dustbowl days, and remained to lay the foundation on shich Oklahoma builds today. Irene Brown Bartel in this work has recaptured one segment of this colorful past. Without such works, we of today can gain no insight into the individualism of these early pioneers, no real comprehension of the heritage of the state.

Mrs. Bartel, by recounting the lives of her father and mother and her impression of her childhood, has provided Oklahomans and readers of frontier history an interesting and readable work. A map of Oklahoma would have enhanced the value of this book for those unfamiliar with the detailed geography of the region. Moreover, professional historians will wish for documentation and an indes. In addition, more pictures of early days could have been included. Yet Mrs. Bartel has made available here for every citizen of the state a small party of their heritage--a heritage of which all Oklahomans should be proud.

—Joe A. Stout, Jr.

Stillwater, Oklahoma

Periodical Literature on the American Revolution: Historical Research and Changing Interpretations, 1895-1970, a Selective Bibliography. Compiled by Ronald M. Gephart. (Library of Congress, 1971. Illus. 1,122 entries. Index. Pp. 93. $100.)

This 93-page bibliography has been published by the Library of Congress in response to the growing interest in the American Revolution stimulated by the approaching Bicentennial. Ronald M. Gephart, the compiler, is a member of the staff of the American Revolution Bicentennial program who is at present assigned to the General Reference and Bibliography Division, Library of Congress. This is the third of the Library's publications for the Bicentennial of the American Revolution: The first, *The American Revolution: A Selected Reading List* was issued in 1968, and the second, a facsimile of Paul Revere's engraving of the Boston Massacre, appeared in 1970.

For historians, the periodical provides a much needed medium in which to test new hypotheses or to announce in brief form the fruits of extended research. As a result, historical journals have served a unique function in the 20th century as the chief marketplace for the exchange of information, ideas, interpretations, and criticism. This selective bibliography, with 1,122 entires arranged by subject and period, is designed to give students, teachers, scholars, and librarians a convenient and representative guide to essays and periodical literature on the REvolutionary era that have appeared during the past 75 years in historical journals, festschriften, and collections of lectures or essays. Annotations are provided only where clarification seemed necessary or where additional information, such as reprint numbers, increase the usefulness of the citations. A section entitled "Anthologies and Collections" is included to acquaint the reader with currently available paperbacks that reprint some of the more important articles and essays. There is a separate list of titles and Library of Congress call numbers of all periodicals represented in the bibliography, as well as an author and a brief subject index. Portraits of George III and George Washington are reproduced on the cover of this bibliography.

Considerations of trends in historical writing strongly affected the selection and arrangement of entries in the bibliography. A review of changing interpretations of the American Revolution reflected in the writings of leading historians over the past 200 years is presented in an introductory essay by Mr. Gephart.

Library of Congress —Press Release
Washington, D. C.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
April 29, 1971

The seventy-ninth Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society convened at 9:30 a.m. on April 29, 1971. President George H. Shirk called the meeting to order. The invocation by Dr. Muriel H. Wright was first given in the Choctaw language.

Judge Denver Davision was introduced by President Shirk and gave an inspiring tribute to the late Judge Robert A. Hefner. He spoke of Judge Hefner's tremendous love of learning and service and closed his remarks with a motto which he said the Judge lived by throughout his long career: "Have faith in God and have faith in your work".

Mr. Shirk requested and Mr. Milt Phillips moved that Judge Davison's remarks be included in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* Mr. Fisher Muldrow seconded the motion, which was adopted.

The portrait of Governor William M. Jenkins was presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society by Mr. Robert Wootten on behalf of his foster father, Mr. Ray Jenkins, who was unable to attend. Ray Jenkins is the son of William Jenkins. A motion to accept the portrait was made by Senator Denzil Garrison and seconded by Mr. W. D. Finney.

The members of the Society then heard a warm tribute paid to Mr. Richard G. Miller by Dr. Robert V. Peterson. Mr. Miller was a Director of the Board of the Oklahoma Historical Society who died this past year. He was known and loved by thousands of Oklahomans for his daily newspaper column, *The Smoking Room.*

The Publications Committee was requested to print the remarks of Dr. Peterson in *The Chronicles* by an adopted motion of Mr. Finney, seconded by Dr. LeRoy Fischer.

All of Mr. Miller's columns have been presented by Mrs. Miller to the Oklahoma Historical Society and Miss Genevieve Seger moved that the Society express thanks and appreciation to Mrs. Miller and that the gift of the columns be accepted. This motion was seconded by Mr. Phillips, and adopted when put.

The Constitutional Revision Committee Chairman, H. Merle Woods, presented two amendments which had been presented at the January Board Meeting. Mr. Curtis moved and Mr. Phillips seconded that the first of these two amendments be adopted. The motion, when put to a vote, passed. This amendment, which is an additional sentence to Section 8 of Article IV, reads as follows:

> In the event of a vacancy on the Board of Directors, the President shall announce such fact at the first meeting of the Board thereafter. Nominations may be made orally from the floor at that meeting or by letter to the Administrative Secretary in the interim before twenty days preceding the next regular meeting unless such time be enlarged by the Board. The Administrative Secretary shall review all nominations for

> eligibility as required by Section 2 of this Article, and shall mail the list of such eligible nominations to the members of the Board prior to its next meeting. The vote shall be by secret ballot and the nominee receiving the majority vote shall be seated as Director. In the event of a plurality only, the winner shall be determined by a run-off ballot between the two nominees receiving the highest number of votes.

The second of the two amendments, which adds a Section to be numbered 9 to Article IV, was moved to be adopted by Mr. Woods and seconded by Mr. Pierce. This motion was passed, and states that:

> Members of the Board of Directors who have completed the term to which they were elected and who have indicated a desire not to serve further as provided by Section 3 of this Article, may be elected as a Board Member Emeritus for life on majority vote of the remaining members of the Board. Provided, that to be eligible for such emeritus membership such retiring Board Member shall have served not less than ten years as a member of the Board with an attendance record of at least sixty per cent (60%) of all regular or special meetings. Such emeritus member shall not be entitled to hold office, to make or second a motion nor to cast a vote, but shall in all respects be entitled to participate in all of the proceedings and deliberations of the Board of Directors.

For his first meeting with the Society since his inauguration, Governor David Hall was presented to the membership of the Oklahoma Historical Society by President Shirk. A volume of *The Autobiography of Charles Francis Colcord* was presented to the Governor as the official state copy of this work and to commemorate the occasion. In his remarks, the Governor spoke of the efforts of members of the Society in preserving the heritage of Oklahoma and urged their continuing effort. President Shirk expressed the appreciation of all that the Governor was able to be present.

It was pointed out by Mr. Shirk that the heritage of Oklahoma will be featured in an article to appear in the August, 1971 issue of *The National Geographic.*

Elaborating further on the Colcord book, President Shirk told the assembly of a special award given the book at the Western Heritage Awards Dinner. Mr. D. K. Higginbotham was introduced and spoke of his part in the publishing of this outstanding volume. Mr. Shirk then presented Mr. Higginbotham the Oklahoma Historical Society's Certificate of Commendation.

Members of the Board of Directors in attendance, guests of honor, and members of the staff were introduced to the meeting by Mr. Shirk.

It was moved by Mr. McBride and seconded by Mr. Muldrow the actions and decisions of the Board of Directors during the past year be approved. The motion passed unanimously.

There being no further business, the Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society was adjourned at 10:35 a.m. by President Shirk.

ELMER FRAKER,
Administrative Secretary

GEORGE H. SHIRK,
President

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

April 29, 1971

The Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order in quarterly session by President George Shirk at 11:00 a.m. on April 29, 1971. The meeting was held in the Board of Directors' Room of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building.

Members present for the meeting were: Mrs. George L. Bowman, Q. B. Boydstun, Joe W. Curtis, W. D. Finney, Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Sen. Denzil D. Garrison, Joe W. McBride, Dr. James D. Morrison, Fisher Muldrow, H. Milt Phillips, Earl Boyd Pierce, Genevieve Seger, and H. Merle Woods.

Members absent from the meeting were: Lou Allard, Henry Bass, Dr. E. E. Dale, Bob Foresman, Nolen Fuqua, Dr. A. M. Gibson, Morton R. Harrison, John E. Kirkpatrick, and W. E. McIntosh. Mr. Phillips moved that all members absent from the meeting be excused. Mr. Muldrow seconded the motion, which carried.

Mrs. Bowman gave the Treasurer's Report and called the attention of the Board to large contributions to the Society in the months of January and March. The Cash Receipts for the year to date, 1970-1971, have risen to $74,424.23, in contrast to $24,836.76 for the same period in 1969-1970. Cash Disbursements for the 1970-1971 period were $73,086.78. The figure for the year 1969-1970 was $26,048.58.

Administrative Secretary Elmer L. Fraker presented the list of gifts to the Museum, Indian Archives, and Library. Mr. Fraker also informed the Board that Sen. Garrison and Mrs. Mozelle Sanders Smith had become life members and that sixty-one new applications for membership had been made. Mr. Curtis moved and Mr. Boydstun seconded to accept the gifts and to approve the new members.

As the result of a suggestion at the January, 1971 Board Meeting, a copy of Senate Joint Resolution 17, repealing Senate Joint REsolution 27, O.S.L. 1970, relating to the site and construction of a Memorial Building for the Oklahoma Memorial Association, was on Governor David Hall's desk for signature, according to Mr. Fraker. It was recalled that construction of such a building was no longer necessary because of the gift of Judge Robert A. Hefner of his home to the Oklahoma Memorial Association.

Mr. Fraker gave a brief summary of the progress of work being done at the Green McCurtain House, Sealy Mission, Jesse Chisholm's Grave, Fort Supply, Purcell, and Fort Washita.

Mr. Pierce suggested that the Oklahoma Historical Society look into the possibility of securing two residences, both in good condition. One was the Fort Gibson home of William P. Ross and the other, the home of Dennis W. Bushyhead, both of which men were former Principal Chiefs of the Cherokee Nation. Mr. Pierce asked Mr. Fraker to have Mr. Elbert L. Costner, Field Deputy, check on these homes.

Mr. Shirk asked for the report of the Microfilm Committee. Committee Chairman Phillips advised that there will not be as much production next year. A reduced staff was given as one reason for the lower rate. He pointed out, however, that this project is one million pages ahead of schedule, and that dangerously aged pages are being protected.

Mrs. Bowman presented to the Board for filing, a copy of Alpha Chi Omega quarterly, *The Lyre,* Spring, 1971. Mrs. Bowman is a member of this sorority and the issue featured an article on her induction into the Oklahoma Hall of Fame.

The Publications Committee reported through Chairman Shirk that a review is in progress for reprinting of outstanding articles appearing in past issues of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* Mr. Shirk also announced that a handbook will be published within a few weeks setting out the laws governing the National Historic Preservation Act.

Dr. Fisher's Museum report pointed out the work that has been done in the South Gallery of the Main Museum. Mr. Fraker reported that a police officer and two night watchmen provide 24-hour coverage of the Museum.

A discussion ensued concerning the Internal Revenue Service's ruling on the value of books, manuscripts, and other similar archival material. It was felt that all American historical societies should be urged to see that this ruling is rescinded. Mr. Curtis, Chairman of the Library Committee, was asked to study this matter further and report on his findings at the July meeting.

Mr. Fraker stated that the Honey Springs Battle field is scheduled for an appropriation in the Oklahoma Historical Society budget for fiscal year 1971-72. Dr. Fischer said this will make possible an archaeological dig to be conducted by The Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art. The work will begin in June of this year. Dr. Fischer in his report informed the Board that Mr. Costner and the State Highway Department are working on plans for ingress and egress to the Battlefield.

House Bill 1130, the Society's appropriation bill, was next reported on by Mr. Fraker. He said that the Miners Museum item had been deleted and expressed the hope that the $15,000 would be kept in the bill to be used for other items.

Mr. Curtis presented his guest, Miss Francile Clark of Pauls Valley, whose family had established the Home Security Life Insurance Company. Miss Clark gave to the Oklahoma Historical Society Library a scrapbook of early Oklahoma. It had been compiled by her mother, Gertrude Reid Clark, during the period 1901-1910, and included biographical sketches of some of the people at the statehood ceremonies held on November 16, 1907, in Guthrie.

Miss Clark also commented that she had enjoyed reading various Historical Society markers and because she had found them so interesting, had decided to join the Society.

The First Edition of Oklahoma's Statewide Historic Sites Survey has been approved by the Secretary of the Interior, according to Mr. Shirk, State Liaison Officer. Nominations for sites to be placed on the National Register have been completed and prepared for submission to the Keeper of the National Register. With matching government funds, this will be a $200,000 program.

The Oklahoma Memorial Association is preparing its new home, Heritage House, given by the family of the late Judge R. A. Hefner. Moving date is set for May 1, 1971. Speaking for the Association, Mr. McBride thanked Mr. Fraker for allowing the Association to store valuable papers in the Oklahoma Historical Society Building on the temporary basis.

The Historical Society will be asked by the Oklahoma Memorial Association to loan pictures hanging in the Historical Society's Museum Portrait Gallery of persons honored by the Association. A formal request will be laid before the Board at some future time.

During the past quarter, Board Member Merle Woods was nominated to the Oklahoma Memorial Association Hall of Fame and was congratulated by the Board for this great honor.

Because of the absence of Dr. Gibson, the report of the committee investigating education aid for Oklahoma Historical Society staff members was delayed until a later meeting.

The goals of the Historic Sites Seminar, to be held May 13, 1971, in the auditorium of the Historical Building, were outlined by Dr. Fischer. This all-day meeting will inform interested Oklahomans of the National Historic Preservation Act program and its application to the State of Oklahoma. Speakers who are recognized authorities in fields of history, anthropology, and archaeology will be featured on the program. President Shirk, Dr. Morrison, and Dr. Muriel Wright are among these.

Another subject of interest was introduced by Dr. Fischer — the reprinting of the magazine *The American Indian*. This magazine first appeared in 1927 as a monthly publication, then bi-monthly. It was edited by Lee Harkins, who, with Thomas Gilcrease, collected rare Indian documents, and who was intensely concerned with the Indian phase of Oklahoma history.

The reprinting is being compiled and edited by John Carroll, and, upon a motion by Dr. Fischer and seconded by Mr. Muldrow, a Certificate of Commendation was awarded him. Dr. Fischer also moved that the Oklahoma Historical Society should acquire one copy of the reprint edition for the Society Library. It was further moved that no one should be allowed to use the originals of this magazine already contained in the Society Library. Mr. Curtis seconded this motion and it was passed.

It was the unanimous motion of all that condolences be expressed to Board Member Morton R. Harrison upon the death of his wife, Ruth Harrison, who died in April, 1971.

Some discussion followed about the Will Rogers Papers, currently being compiled and edited by the Department of History, Oklahoma State University, under the direction of Dr. Homer L. Knight.

Mr. Phillips moved and Mrs. Bowman seconded a motion that Mr. D. K. Higginbotham, editor of the *Autobiography of Charles Francis Colcord,* be given a Certificate of Commendation, and that the four Colcord daughters be elected as honorary life members of the Society. This motion met with unanimous approval.

The effect of Urban Renewal has been felt by the Oklahoma Historical Society — a sample of ornamental lions from the old City Hall has been presented to the Museum by the Oklahoma City Urban Renewal Authority. Miss Seger moved and Dr. Fischer seconded that these be accepted. The Motion passed.

The election of two members to the Board to fill the vacancies resulting from the deaths of Judge R. A. Hefner and R. G. Miller was the next order of business. At the request of Mr. McIntosh, the nomination of Mrs. Jerlena D. King of Eufaula, had been withdrawn until such time as Mr. McIntosh would be able to present her personally to the Board.

The vote was then cast for the remaining nominees: Harry L. Deupree, M.D., Oklahoma City, and Mrs. John D. Frizzell, Oklahoma City. Mrs. Bowman, acting as recording secretary, announced the results of the election. Mrs. Frizzell was elected to fill the term of Judge Hefner ending in January, 1975, and Dr. Deupree that of Mr. Miller, expiring in January, 1972. Mr. Curtis moved and Mr. Muldrow seconded that the Board approve by acclamation the election of the new members to the Board of Directors, and the Board did so approve.

There being no further business, Mrs. Bowman moved and Mr. Curtis seconded that the meeting be adjourned. The time was 12:30 p.m.

ELMER L. FRAKER,
Administrative Secretary

GEORGE H. SHIRK,
President

GIFT LIST FOR FIRST QUARTER, 1971

LIBRARY:

Official Roster of the Soldiers of the State of Ohio in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1866; Vol. 5 1887.
Donor: Mrs. Lester R. Maris, Ponca City, Oklahoma

The Round-Up; Yearbook of Northern Oklahoma College, Tonkawa, Oklahoma for 1966,1967, 1969 & 1970.
Donor: Northern Oklahoma College, Tonkawa.

History of Shelby County, Kentucky by George L. Willis, Sr., 1929.
Lloyd Manuscripts by Howard Williams Lloyd, 1912.
Donor: Mrs. R. M. Hansen, Dallas, Texas.

Diamond Jubilee - Shawnee, Oklahoma, 1895-1970.
Donor: Josie Washichek, Shawnee, Oklahoma.

Genealogy Gall and Nothstine, 1730-1964 by Agnes Nothstine, 1965.
Donor: Author, Muskogee, Oklahoma.

Fulkerson Family by the Rev. Canon Grover Fulkerson, 1970.
Donor: Author, Norman, Oklahoma.

Church History - First Baptist Church, Tipton, Oklahoma 1902-1971.
Donor: First Baptist Church, Tipton.

Clippings from *Pea Ridge Graphic* 1967-1968.
Donor: Mrs. Barbara Chitwood, Oklahoma City.

Twenty-one Masonic Membership Cards 1919-1932 of Hicholas J. Nail.
Donor: Mrs. Isobel J. Armstrong, Midwest City.

Southwestern Bell Telephone Directory, November, 1970, Greater Tulsa (2 copies).
Donor: Miss Irene Reese, Tulsa.

Smalley Family - Lines of Descent from Samuel Fuller of the Mayflower, 1946.
Comptonology, Vol. 1, No. 1, Jan. 1939 to Vol. 5, No. 8, May 1952.
Stallard Genealogy, Vol. 1, No. 1 March 1950; Vol. 1, No. 2, Jan. 1951.
Donor: Mrs. Mildred Lankford, Oklahoma City.

"A History of the Whaley Family in Tennessee", compiled by Mary A. Murdock, 1970.
Donor: Compiler, Norman, Oklahoma.

Original Notes and Maps Marked for Rock Mary Survey and Simpson Report.
Donor: Robert H. Dott, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

The United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazine, Vol. 32, No. 12, Dec. 1969; Vol. 33, Nos. 1-12, Jan.-Dec. 1970.
Donor: Mrs. King Larimore, Oklahoma City.

A Pioneer History of Shattuck by Interested Citizens of Shattuck, Oklahoma, 1970.
Donor: Nancy Ritter (for "Citizens"), Shattuck.

Collection of Oklahoma History clippings and Newspapers.
Donor: Mrs. Harry A. Stallings, Oklahoma City.

Scrapbook of Early Oklahoma Historical newspaper clippings.
Donor: Ruby K. McLeod, Reno, Nevada.

An Adventure Called Skelly by Roberta Ironside, 1970.
Donor: Skelly Oil Company, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Archives of Maryland, LXXI - Journal and Correspondence of the State Council of Maryland 1784-1789.
Donor: Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland.

Indiana and the Civil War, 1961; Indiana Civil War Centennial Commission, Indianapolis.
Donor: J. Guy Fuller, Oklahoma City.

Microfilm: Soundex 1880.
T-748; Roll No. 70 Iowa, T-260 thru T-520.
T-749; Roll No. 45 Kansas, S-620 thru T-460.
Donor: Dale Talkington, Oklahoma City.

Microfile

Microfilm: Soundex 1880.
T-773, Roll No. 38 Texas, J & K.
Donor: Mrs. Adelia Sallee, Norma, Oklahoma.

The Williams Lineage by Mrs. S. R. Williams.
Donor: Author, Okmulgee, Oklahoma.

Appraisal of The Water and Related Land Resources of Oklahoma, Region 8, 1971; Oklahoma Water Resources Board.
Donor: Forrest Nelson, Executive Director, Oklahoma City.

What So Proudly We Hail by Maymie R. Krythe, 1968.
The Meteor Crater Story by George E. Foster, 1964.
Three newspaper clippings of Oklahoma.
Donor: Zebalene McKoy Ramsey, Oklahoma City.

History - Oklahoma State Federation of Women's Clubs, 1898-1969.
Donor: Mrs. Marvin Crouch, Buffalo, Oklahoma.

Two Scrapbooks of Oklahoma Historical Clippings and Tax Receipts
Donor: David W. Newman, Britton, Oklahoma.

The Dickson-Haraway Site by Susan Sasse Burton & William Neal; Archaeological Site Report No. 20.
Donor: Oklahoma River Basin Survey, Norman, Oklahoma.

Selected Tombstone Inscriptions - From Alabama, South Carolina and Other Southern States, 1970, compiled by John Carl Cheek, William Cockrell and Rebecca Brown.
Donor: John Carl Cheek, Oklahoma City.

Folger Family.
Donor: Folger Family, Chattanooga, Tennessee.

The Russey Family in America by George S. Russey, Jr., 2nd. Edition, 1970.
Donor: Col. John W. Russey, Jr., San Antonio, Texas.

Index to North Carolina Wills by Fred A. Olds, 1968 - compiled by Toni E. Crowe.
Donor: D. A. R. of Oklahoma City.

Alfalfa Blossoms - Cherokee, Oklahoma High School Year Book, 1913.
With The Colors - From Alfalfa County, 1917, 1918 and 1919.
Donor: Mrs. Virginia Dell Smith Geith, Cherokee, Oklahoma.

The Will of William Amberson.
Jonathan Clower Military and Family History.
The Will of Moses Lemon.
Sprewell Family Records.
Declaration for Pension of Robert Toaz.
The Will of Thomas Vaughn.
The Will of James White.
The Will of Joseph White.
Donor: Mrs. Mildred Toaz, Hartshorne, Oklahoma.

Marriage License of Susan Rogers Cortelyou Clark.
Donor: Mrs. Marjorie Tilton Mitchell, McAlester, Oklahoma.

The Genealogy of Rev. W. H. Van Deusen and Related Families, compiled by Cherry Laura Van Deusen Pratt, 1969.
Donor: Compiler, Fort Recovery, Ohio.

James Frazier, Kent County, Delaware and Descendants, compiled and published by Griffin Guy Frazier, 1965.
Donor: Compiler, Arlington, Virginia.

Doty-Caywood Family Clippings.
Donor: George Desper, Oklahoma City.

Building For Tomorrow - The Story of Oklahoma City University by Chancellor Cluster Q. Smith, 1961.
Donor: Oklahoma City University.

McCurtain County and Southeast Oklahoma by W. A. Carter, of Idabel, 1923.
Donor: Mr. Elma L. O'Brien, Fort Towson, Oklahoma.

Telephone Directory, 1969 of Holt Telephone Co., Inc. and Panama Telephone Co. for: Poteau, Cameron, Heavener, Howe, Monroe,

Panama, South Pocola and Wister, Oklahoma.
Donor: Mrs. Wiley Lowery, Oklahoma City.

The Hellyer Heritage by Mary Kathleen Hellyer.
Donor: Mrs. R. H. Schlup, Washington, D.C. & Okla. Dept. of Libraries.

Historic Preservation, Vol. 22, No. 4, Oct.-Dec., 1970.
Virginia Landmarks Register, July 1970.
Pennsylvania Heritage, Vol. 4, No. 1, Dec. 1970.
Directory of Governmental Officials in the Central Oklahoma Area, 1971.
Oklahoma Living Legends, 1970-1971.
1970 Engineering Report - Oklahoma City Airport Trust Estate.
Initial Regional Parks and Open Space Plan - Association of Central Oklahoma Governments, Inc.
"Behind Every Door" by Patrick B. Lyons, Nov. 18, 1970.
"The Cold War in the Roman Empire" by Arnold J. Toynbee, Oct. 17, 1950.
Two Addresses by Morton Harrison to Oklahoma City Civic Groups 1951-1957.
Guide to Historical Markers in New Mexico, compiled by N. and D. Delgado, 1968.
Cherokee Nation Patent - United States to Cherokee Nation, a copy.
Names - Journal of the American Name Society, Vol. 18, No. 4, Dec. 1970.
Roster 1970 - Horseless Carriage Club of America.
State Bar of Oklahoma, Vol. 1 March 27, 1931 to June 19, 1936.
How to Collect Stamps by Ralph A. Kimble, 1932.
A Description of United States Postage Stamps, 1936.
Military Collector and Historian, Vol. XXII, No. 3, Fall 1970.
History of Oklahoma Telephone Pioneers of America 1931-1961 by Harry H. Wortman.
Westerner Magazine, Jan.-Feb., March-April, May-June, July-August, Sept., October, Nov. and Dec., 1970.
Golden West, July 1970.
Great West, Feb. 1971.
Frontier Times, Nov. 1970.
True West, Aug. 1970.
The West, May 1970.
Old West, Summer 1970.
True Frontier, March 1971.
New Mexico, July-Aug. 1970; Winter 1971 & Spring 1971.
Colorado, Nov. -Dec. 1970.
Arizona Highways, October 1970.
Ambassador Life, March 1970.
Montana Magazine of Western History, Spring 1970.
South Dakota Review, Autumn, 1970.
Texas Quarterly, Autumn 1970.
While the Iron is Hot by Isabel Smith Ratliff, 1970.
International Hall of Fame Poets, 1970.
Indian Battles of the Lower Rogue by Frank K. Walsh, 1970.
"Woolies at the Crossroads", Nos. 1, 2, 3 from *Empire Section* of *Denver Post* for Dec. 1970.
"Summer Treatment for Cowboy Fever" by George A. Wallis from *Record Stockman* Magazine Section, Jan. 1, 1971.

"The Renegades" by Bob Leasure from *Colorado Magazine,* May-June 1970.
"The Man Who Slew 250 Wolves" by Zeke Scher from *Empire Section* of *Denver Post,* Jan. 24, 1971.
"This Country Was a Lot Better Off When the Indians Were Running It!!" by Vine Deloria, Jr., from *New York Times,* March 8, 1970.
Album of Poems by Elmer J. Sark, 1970.
Telephone Pioneers, Okla. Chapter No. 41, 1931-1971.
Study Committee Report on Urban League's Proposal for Economic Development Activity, 1970.
"Vitalize Black Enterprise" by Robert B. McKerzie, 1970.
The Anderson Story by John H. Schuler.
The Buckeye, by William S. Guthrie.
The First Fifty Years of Independent Life by Jacob F. Bryan, III.
Planning For Growth and Profit by John C. Brooks.
Creative Merchandising in an Era of Change by Francis C. Rooney, Jr.
The University of Bridgeport by Henry Littlefield.
The Story of Alcan Laboratories, Inc. by Robert Alexander and William C. Conner.
Tennessee's Plan for Historic Preservation, 1970 of the Tennessee Historical Commission.
The Oklahoma Publishing Company by E. K. Gaylord, 1971.
Born in a Bookshop by Vincent Starrett, 1965.
Vrag Naroda by Emeric Melius, 1967.
Bridging the Gap - A Guide to Early Greenville, South Carolina by Laura Smith E. Baugh, 1966.
The Mature Mind by H. A. Overstreet, 1949.
Paul Cambon - Master Diplomatist by Keith Eubank, 1960.
Malta's Road to Independence by Edith Dobie, 1967.
Atlas, 1966.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City.

Photograph Department:

Mr. & Mrs. Charles A. Wells, Mary Ann Wells, Louisa Wells and twin girls near Sheep Springs, Chickasaw Nation, August 26, 1900.
Donor: Mrs. James W. Alsup, Arlington Heights, Illinois.

Dan Witcher and Family of Witcher, Oklahoma Territory, ca 1900.
Dan Witcher's Threshing Crew and Threshing Machine near Witcher, Oklahoma Territory, 1900.
Donor: Bob Younger of Dayton, Ohio.

Three photo-postals of Keifer, Indian Territory, 1900.
Pictorial Postal folder entitled "Indians As I Saw Them in Oklahoma, 1907" with twelve photos:
Geronimo, Apache War Chief
Quanah Parker, and two wives, Comanche.
Gotebo, Kiowa.
Kiowa Annie (Anna) in valuable elk tooth dress.
Sophia Fisher, Comanche.
Jack and Post Oak Jim, Comanches.
Gertrude Tahquche and Polly Pahkewah, Comanches.
Clark Chenke, Comanche Indian Police.

Hot Coffee and wife, Mehashah, Comanches.
Bernice Quassyah and Lybie Mehesyah, Comanches.

Horse, Kiowa Indian Police.
Unidentified Indian woman and papoose in cradle-board.
Chief Running Bird, Kiowa.
Chief Brave Bear, Cheyenne.
Indian Burial and nine others unidentified other than items - tepees, etc.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City.

Large (23" X 28") black and white photograph of typical Victorian living room or parlor in home of A. E. Helmer of Rockport, Missouri ca 1899-1900's
Donor: R. A. Helmer, Oklahoma City.

Heritage Hall Cheerleaders 1st year, 1969-1970 (7 negatives).
Heritage Hall Basketball Team 1st year, 1969-1970 (6 negatives).
Heritage Hall Year Book Staff 1st year, 1969-1970 (7 negatives).
Heritage Hall Football Team 1st year, 1969-1970 8" X 10" glossy photograph.
Heritage Hall Board of Trustees 1st year, 1969-1970 (3 negatives).
School Rally at Costello Home, Sept. 1969.
Forty photographs and negatives of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church's 25th Anniversary, Oklahoma City, May 1970.
Stumbling Bear, Kiowa, photograph.
El Meta Bond College, Minco, Oklahoma
El Meta Bond College Dining Hall, Minco, Oklahoma.
El Meta Bond College Founder — Meta Chestnut Sager, photograph.
Prof. J. A. Sager (husband of Meta Chestnut Sager), photograph.
"Happy Hollow" Bond Ranch home at Silver City, photograph.
Donor: Fred Huston, Oklahoma City.

"A Modest Home in Oklahoma Territory in 1896" — 8" X 10" sepia on cardboard.
"Oklahoma in 1896" — 8" X 10" sepia on cardboard.
"Cyclone in Oklahoma showing Spade driven in tree by storm's force" — 8" X 10" sepia on cardboard.
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Oklahoma City Indian News, March 18, 1971
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Records re United Keetoowah Nursing Home.
Cherokee Tribe v. State of Oklahoma, in in U. S. Court for Eastern District of Oklahoma, Docket No. 6219 (River bed case): Pretrial Order; Preliminary Statement
Cherokee Freedmen, et al vs. Cherokee Nation and U. S., U. S. Court of Claims Docket 5-70: Brief of Cherokee Nation.
Cherokee Nation v. U. S., Indian Claims Commission Docket 173A: Petitioner's Statement: Objection to Defendant's requested findings of fact; Petitioner's request for findings of fact; Brief on offsets.

Henry B. Bass News Letter, Jan. 15, Feb. 15, Mar. 15, and Apr. 15, 1971

Indian Affairs News Letter, May-August 1970.

Brochure prepared by Muskogee Area Office.

OIO News Letter, Jan and Feb. 1971
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Mimeographed pages with with reference Choctaw Indians, including "Hello Choctaw" June 21, Aug. 12, Aug. 30, Sept., Oct., Nov., Dec., 1970, Jan. 1971. etc.

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Printed pamphlets, including "Theatre at Tsa-La-Gi, the Trail of Tears," "Vacationing in Cherokee country," "Heritage", "Oklahoma's Green Country".

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Jicarilla Apache Tribe of New Mexico v. U. S., Docket N. 22-A: Additional Findings of Fact; Final Award.

Assiniboine Tribes v. U. S., Docket No. 279A: Findings of Fact on Attorney's fees; Order allowing attorney fees.

Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, et al v. U. S., Docket No. 18-T: Opinion; Additional Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.

Minnteota Chippewa Trive, et al. v. U. S., Docket No. 18-U: Opinion; Additional Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.

Confederated Tribes of Colville Reservation v. U. S., Docket No. 178: Order allowing attorney's fees.

Creek Nation of Oklahoma v. U. S., Docket No. 275: Opinion on motion for rehearing; Order Denying defendant's motion for rehearing.

Confederated Salish & Kootenai Tribes of Flathead Reservation v. U. S., Docket No. 156: Order dismissing Eighth cause of action.

Three affiliated Tribes of Fort Berthold Reservation, et al. v. U. S., Docket Nos. 350-B, 350-C, 246, 191, 221, 74 and 221A: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Final Order.

Gila River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community v. U. S., Docket No. 236H: Order Dismissing Petition.

Iowa Tribe in Kansas, & Sac & Fox of Okla., v. U. S., Docket No. 153: Order allowing attorney's fees.

Iowa Tribe of Kansas, Nebraska & Okla., et al., Docket No. 138: Order allowing reimbursement of expenses of attorneys.

Kickapoo Tribe of Okla. & & Kansas v. U. S., Docket 316-A: Order allowing attorney's fees.

Kickapoo Tribe of Kansas v. U. S., Docket 317: Order allowing attorney fee Kikiallus Tribe v. U. S., Docket 263: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.

Kiowa, Comanche & Apache Tribes vs. U. S., Docket 257: Order granting Wichita Tribe of Oklahoma right to intervene.

Kiowa, Comanche & Apache Tribes v. U. S., Docket 259-A: Order denying Motion for summary judgment.

Lemhi Tribe v. U. S., Docket 326-I: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Final Award.

Miami Tribe of Oklahoma & Indiana vs. U. S., Docket 124C, D, E, F, 255, 256: Award & apportionment attorney fees; findings of fact; Order.

Miami Tribe of Oklahoma, et al & Peoria Tribe, et al v. U. S., Docket Nos. 253, 131, 314-D: Order allowing attorney fees & reimbursable expenses.

Nez Perce Tribe v. U. S., Docket 175 Opinion on motion for partial summary judgment; Order.

Confederated Tribes of Colville Reservation as representative of Joseph Band of Nez Perce Tribe v. U. S., Docket 186: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.

Ottawa Tribe, et al v. U. S., Docket 304: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.

Papago Tribe v. U. S., Docket 345: Report of Commissioner.

Peoria Tribe, et al. & Absentee Delaware Tribe v. U. S., Docket 289: Final Award.

Pueblo de Acoma v. U. S., Docket 266: Order allowing attorney's fees.

Pueblo of San Ildefonso, of Santo Domingo, of Santa Clara, of Nambe vs. U. S., Docket Nos. 354, 355, 356, 358: Order denying motion for summary judgment.

Pueblo of Taos v. U. S., Docket 357: Order to show cause.

Pueblo of Taos v. U. S., Docket 357-A: Opinion; Order denying motion for summary judgment.

Sac & Fox Tribes of Oklahoma, Missouri & Iowa v. U. S., Docket 143: Order allowing reimbursement of expenses of attorneys.

Sac & Fox Tribe of Oklahoma v. U. S., Docket 220: Order allowing reimbursement of attorney's expenses.

Sac & Fox Tribes in Iowa & Oklahoma v. U. S., Docket 219: Order allowing attorney's fees.

Seminole Indians of Florida v. U. S., Docket 73-A: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Order.

Stillaguamish Tribe v. U. S., Docket 207: Order allowing attorney's fees.

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The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publications Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are $5.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* Life membership is $100.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is $6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine (1937 to current number), $1.50. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

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THE HOME OF CHIEF JOHN ROSS
Near Park Hill, Cherokee Nation before the Civil War

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AUTUMN, 1971

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COVER: **The front cover is a print from an old picture of the Chief John Ross home, "Ross Cottage," near Park Hill in the Cherokee Nation, taken in the 1850's. The home was burned by some of General Stand Watie's Confederate troops during the Civil War.**

LIFE IN THE CHEROKEE NATION, 1855—1860

*By Reid A. Holland**

Riding along in a bouncing and dusty Concord stagecoach, the weary passengers were perhaps not aware of their entrance into Indian Territory from Arkansas. Only the rugged redness of the faces of the Indians let the secret be known. Otherwise, the well ordered buildings and public places, the neat patches of corn and wheat, the small herds of cattle, the women at work, the missionaries on the street corner, the children at play in the school yard were like those of any other frontier community in the decade before the Civil War. By the 1850's life among the Indians in Indian Territory was comparable to life in any of the surrounding states. The Cherokee Indians, living in what is now the northeast portion of the state of Oklahoma, were the most culturally advanced among the Creeks, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Seminoles then occupying the Territory. Progress among the Cherokees was well summed up when, in 1852, William P. Ross, brother of the Cherokee Chief, John Ross, boasted that "the number of adults in the Cherokee Nation not able to read and write may be counted on your fingers." [1] Although his statement may be doubtful as to its exactness, it offers a good yardstick with which to measure the social cultivation of the Nation. Between 1850 and 1860, the Cherokee Indians under the able leadership of Chief John Ross made forward strides in every aspect of society.

By 1855 the head of a Cherokee family could expect to come home from the fields to a comfortable log cabin. These structures were usually furnished with rough hand crafted furniture typical of the West. In addition to this a curious sprinkling of manufactured chairs and utensils from the East was not uncommon to the Cherokee household. Many of the

---

*The author is a former graduate student of Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Professor of History and Civil War era specialist at Oklahoma State University. This article was written while Mr. Holland was a member of Dr. Fischer's research seminar.

[1] M. L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 1838-1907.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1938), p. 117.

mixed-bloods, Chief Ross among them, owned elaborate homes patterned after the plantation style of the South. These homes were supplied with good imported furnishings. In vivid contrast with the mixed-bloods, the majority of the full-bloods lived away from the towns and kept to themselves to pursue the old tribal customs. Yet even these dwellings were a far cry from the crude huts the Cherokees built to survive their first winter in the new land.[2]

Public buildings also became more refined. The church at Park Hill, which was also used as a civic center, was constructed at a cost of $2,350 in 1854 and was very commodious to the citizens.[3] School houses and other tribal structures were often made of brick and appeared modern and fashionable. By the middle of the ninteenth century, the residences and public centers of the Cherokees were easily on a par with the best in the nearby states.

The establishment of such buildings did not come naturally. Upon their arrival in the new land the Indians were immediately faced with the problem of providing for themselves. The economic conditions within the Nation vastly improved from the meager rations of food in 1843 to the stable economy of the late 1850's.[4]

Farming became a way of life among the Cherokees. Labor in the fields was so time consuming that several missionaries complained that the farm work interfered with their mission duties. In 1855 and 1856, farm production steadily increased. Cherokee Indian Agent George Butler believed that production could be driven higher by the implementation of farm mechanization. The Cherokees began to think like farmers. They kept their fields neat and looked ahead to find storage areas for their surpluses. The Indians

[2] Grant Foreman, ed., "Notes of Missionaries Among the Cherokees," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XVI (June, 1938), p. 171; Caroline Foreman, *Park Hill* (Muskogee, Oklahoma: Star Printing Company, 1948), p. 96.

[3] Foreman, *Park Hill* p. 98.

[4] Gales to Seaton, January, 1842, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1843), p. 183.

took pride in their work but still production was not at a level consistent with the quality of the land. Elias Rector, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Southern Superintendency, felt that the only real problem facing the Cherokee agricultural efforts was the fact that the Indians still held their lands in common. This accounted for the Indians' lack of initiative. Despite this drawback the Cherokees claimed the largest yield of wheat ever harvested in the Nation in 1859. Farming methods also improved near the outbreak of the Civil War. In 1859 machinery was introduced among the Cherokees for the first time; such implements as reapers, mowers, and threshers were put to use. [5]

The vast grasslands within the Cherokee Nation made the raising of cattle more and more important in the economic picture. By 1859 ranching was considered to be the leading money-making occupation.[6] The Cherokees not only made use of the land within their borders, and after the Civil War, ranching was well established in the eastern edge of the Outlet. The expanding national market gave a great boost to cattle production. Other livestock such as hogs and horses was also raised.

Although the success of farming in the Cherokee Nation did help the people to become economically independent,

[5] Foreman, ed., "Notes of Missionaries Among the Cherokees," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XVI, p. 171; Butler to Dean, September 10, 1856, Senate Executive Document 46, 34th Congress, 3rd Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1856), p. 689; Butler to Rector, September 8, 1857, Senate Document 86, 35th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1857), p. 499; Rector to Greenwood, October 25, 1859, Senate Executive Document 46, 35th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1859), p. 527; Butler to Rector, September 8, 1859, Senate Executive Document 49, 36th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1859), p. 540.

[6] *Ibid.*

this alone did not account for their over-all stability. The Federal Government paid the Nation regular annuities and interest rates on bonds, of invested funds arising from former sale of eastern lands. These payments were often the root of social decay within the tribe. This attitude was prevalent because government officials generally agreed that the payments of annuities per capita made the Indians lazy and shiftless. [7]

In spite of government money and a growing agricultural economy, there were several factors that held back economic growth. First, there was a lack of transportation into and out of the Cherokee Nation. This made it difficult for the Nation to sell its surplus grains or its livestock. The growing railroad system of the United States had not yet reached the Cherokee Nation or any other part of Indian Territory. Secondly, white traders tended to interfere with free trade among the Indians. These men would often cheat the Cherokees and they were generally a bad influence upon the tribe.

In general, the Cherokee society was well ordered and tranquil, except for those involved in the feud that had arisen over the Removal from Georgia. There were several major problems, one of which was public health. In the year 1857 there was a tremendous increase in diseases and deaths especially among children. The rough winter of 1856-1857 had cut down on the usual maple sugar, wild berries, and fish which supplemented the staple grains, beef, and vegetables. Up to 1857 there had been a workable ratio between the doctors and the patients so that illness had been kept to a minimum. Many Cherokee youths were in the process of

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[7] Rector to Greenwood, October 25, 1859, Senate Executive Document 46, 36th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* p. 530.

[8] Butler to Rector, September 8, 1857, Senate Document 86, 35th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* p. 499; Butler to Rector, September 8, 1859, Senate Executive Document 49, 36th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* p. 540.

training as doctors in hopes of lessening the strain. By 1859, public health was considerably better due mainly to improved eating habits and livable sanitation conditions.[8]

The population of the Cherokee Nation increased. In 1859 the census indicated 21,000 Cherokees and non-citizens within the Cherokee borders. Of this number, 4,000 were registered voters, 1,000 were whites, and 9,000 were Negroes, mostly slaves.[9]

In the political arena, the elections to the National Council were held regularly with zestful participation. In an obvious sense of fairness, Chief Ross urges in 1857 that special elections be held to quell any complaints. This move suggests that the Nation was politically mature. Tribal factions arose between the full-bloods led by Chief Ross and the mixed-bloods led by Stand Watie. These antagonistic groups were not new because they dated from the time of the removal treaty. The full-bloods generally (referred to as Pin Indians) were anti-slavery; while Watie's group, the Knights of the Golden Circle, were pro-slavery. Much unrest within the Nation prior to the Civil War was attributed to this division in connection with the bloody feud. News stories pictured bloody murders as every day occurrences.[10]

Despite Rector's comment on September 20, 1860, that there had been no improvement in "conditions or prospects of the Cherokees," it is evident that progress in some areas had been made. One of the major reasons for this

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[9] Butler to Rector, September 8, 1859, Senate Executive Document 49, 36th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* p. 541.

[10] Butler to Rector, September 8, 1857, Senate Document 86, 35th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Inerior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* p. 500; Chief Ross to Grand Council, October 5, 1857, Senate Document 90, 35th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1857), p. 511; Annie H. Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionists,* (Cleveland: The Arthur C. Clark Company, 1915), p. 86; Edward Everett Dale and Gaston Litton, *Cherokee Cavaliers,* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1939), p. 58.

advancement was the influence of religion upon the Cherokee Nation. The missionaries throughout the United States looked upon Indian Territory and the Cherokee Nation as a potentially rewarding area. As the Indian Tribes settled the new land, the missionaries came west and took up the work that they had begun in the East. The Cherokees not only accepted these men, but were very close to them. As early as 1839 the Cherokee constitution recognized "religion, morality, and knowledge" as essential to good government. The problems of the missionaries centered around drinking, gambling, slavery, and general disregard for the law. The mission stations were also concerned with education.[11]

The Reverend Samuel A. Worcester was one of the best liked and most respected missionaries living among the Cherokees. In 1855 approximately 200 Cherokee citizens proudly claimed membership in Worcester's church congregations. Although this was but a limited success it was nonetheless a sound beginning. The churches and preaching places were scattered throughout the Nation where they were most needed. The over-all structure was wholly unorganized and could have been even more influential if directed by some central authority.[12]

The task facing the missionaries was not an easy one. The job became even more difficult when Fort Gibson, the only outpost of United States law enforcement within Cherokee country, was abandoned in 1857. In the past the soldiers at Fort Gibson had controlled the freewheeling liquor traffic between the Creeks and the Cherokees. Despite the valiant efforts of the religious leaders in Cherokee territory, vice ran rampant throughout the country. In an attempt to combat drinking among the Cherokees, especially the younger men,

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[11] Rector to Greenwood, September 24, 1860, Senate Executive Document 45, 36th Congress, 2nd Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Cleveland, Tennessee: Church of God Publishing House, 1928), p. 192.

[12] Worchester to Butler, July 27, 1855, Senate Executive Document 49, 34th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1855), p. 448.

temperance societies were formed in every district. The pious and dedicated leader of one such society, D. D. Hitchcock, enlisted 153 children in his Cold Water Army in a move aimed at impressing the parents of the children with the evils of "John Barley Corn." These youngsters paraded in the streets with signs condemning the use of liquor.[13]

The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Baptist Church operated the largest congregations within the Nation. The Methodist Episcopal Church managed six missions and seventy-six preaching places around the country. All the missions of this church were restricted to a budget of $4,200 plus an average annual collection of $300. The Methodists claimed a large membership which included 140 blacks. The Baptist Mission was headed by the well known Reverend Evan Jones and Reverend John B. Jones. The Baptists directed six churches, all built by the Cherokees themselves. The membership in the Baptist Church grew rapidly, and in 1859 sixty-three Cherokees were baptized.[14]

Religion produced many welcome changes in the Cherokee Nation. The established missions were an aid to education in providing teachers, facilities, and monetary support. More abstractly the coming of the gospel created an awareness of a moral code within the Cherokee mind. The missionaries pushed the Cherokees to work diligently and

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[13] Butler to Rector, September 8, 1857, Senate Document 86, 35th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior. *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* p. 482; Rector to Greenwood, October 25, 1859, Senate Executive Document 46, 36th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* p. 527; Butler to Rector, September 8, 1857, Senate Document 86, 35th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* p. 500.

[14] Harrell to Butler, August 10, 1859, Senate Executive Document 52, 36th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1859), p. 543; Jones to Butler, August 7, 1859, Senate Executive Document 51. 36th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1859), p. 544.

even worked in the fields beside the Indians. The total effect of religion upon the Cherokee Nation was obviously desirable despite the fact that many missions were closed in 1859 and 1860 due to economic strain and tribal frictions.[15]

Any Cherokee citizen was probably prouder of his Nation's accomplishments in the field of education than in any other area. Education in the Cherokee Nation was a success because the whites and the Cherokees realized that the average Cherokee could attain a high degree of learning and not be bound to the traditional role of a second class citizen.[16] This faith in the need and usefulness of education for the Cherokees soon led to many well deserved achievements.

The Cherokee Nation established its own public schools. In 1855 there were 21 public schools in the Nation with an enrollment of 1,100 pupils. The curriculum included spelling, reading, grammar, history, arithmetic, geography, penmanship, rhetoric, and philosophy. The educational standards continually rose. H. D. Reese, the new superintendent of Cherokee public schools in 1859, commented that the situation constituted a "change for the better since 1855." On the eve of the Civil War the number of public schools had risen to thirty with a corresponding jump in enrollment of 1,500 students.[17]

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[15] Duncan to Butler, August 2, 1859, Senate Executive Document 52, 36th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* p. 544.

[16] Duncan to Butler, September 16, 1857, Senate Document 89, 35th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1857), p. 504.

[17] Reese to Butler, September 18, 1858, Senate Document 44, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1858), p. 494; Reese to Butler, September 21, 1859, Senate Executive Document 53, 36th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1858), p. 545.

Nearly every neighborhood wanted its own school. Many petitions for new schools were brought before the National Council. It was unfortunate that more schools were out of the question because of the existing money situation. In any event, the extra revenue that was collected was applied to teacher salaries in order to obtain better talent. The annual appropriations for the schools amounted to $10,000, derived from interest paid to the Cherokees on their investments in government bonds. Chief Ross urged that the citizens be responsible for a greater part of the burden of education in order to use some of the interest money to pay off the Cherokee national debt. Chief Ross thought that tuition could be paid by the Nation while the individual would secure his own books and supplies. Other than the disbursement of interest funds, the United States Government exercised no control over the Cherokee educational system. Before 1856 there had been a special educational fund in addition to the interest payments. However, the Cherokees quickly used up this fund in building and supplying their schools. This lack of money became a real problem, which eventually led to the closing of several schools. In an attempt to find useable funds the Cherokees wished to sell their claim to the neutral lands in what is now the state of Kansas. Besides the controversy over the land itself, the tribe was divided as to how to spend the money. The most sensible view was that of paying the debts of the Nation, then reinvesting the remainder for the purpose of educational and technological advance.[18]

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[18] Butler to Dean, September 10, 1856, Senate Executive Document 46, 34th Congress, 3rd Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1856), p. 691; Reese to Butler, September 21, 1859, Senate Executive Document 53, 36th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* p. 546; Chief Ross to Grand Council, October 5, 1857, Senate Document 90, 35th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1857), p. 508; A. E. Knepler, "Education in the Cherokee Nation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXI (December, 1943), p. 378; Butler to Dean, September 10, 1856, Senate Executive Document 46, 34th Congress, 3rd Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* p. 689;

In addition to financial troubles there were other difficulties facing the Cherokee educational structure. The language barrier was one formidable difficulty which necessitated the instructors having knowledge of both English and the native tongue. For this reason most of the teachers were natives. Division of labor within the Nation also became a real concern. It was soon recognized that formal education was not the answer for everyone; people were still needed as farmers and laborers. Obtaining competent teachers was also a difficult task. In the early schools the academic stature of the instructors was doubtful, and in 1859 the Nation began to screen prospective teachers with an examining board. Assignment of books was a problem because there were not enough for every pupil, and there was not money enough to purchase more. However, in June of 1856, new books were received and a better ratio of books to students was established.[19]

The high point in the Cherokee educational scheme came on May 6 and 7, 1851. On these dates respectively the Female Seminary and Male Seminary opened their doors to students for higher education. Pauline Avery was appointed director of the Cherokee Female Seminary. By 1855, the average daily attendance was 55 students out of an enrollment of 60. In February, 1855, the first graduating class, a group of 12 students, left the seminary. Many of these and later graduates returned to the seminary or to the

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Duncan to Butler, September 18, 1857, Senate Document 89, 35th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* p. 503; Butler to Dean, September 10, 1856, Senate Executive Document 46, 34th Congress, 3rd Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* p. 689.

[19] Duncan to Butler, September 25, 1856, Senate Executive Document 48, 34th Congress, 3rd Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1856), p. 693; Harrell to Butler, August 10, 1859, Senate Executive Document 52, 36th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* p. 546; Duncan to Butler, September 25, 1856, Senate Executive Document 48, 34th Congress, 3rd Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* p. 694.

public schools as teachers. Because of the influence of the seminaries, most of the common school graduates went on to take advantage of the higher education facilities. O.S. Woodford was named head of the Cherokee Male Seminary in 1855, with a student body of only 46. Five pupils made up the first graduating class in February 1855. Some of the early teachers were from the eastern states and were college graduates. The course of study at the Male Seminary included Latin, rhetoric, philosophy, physiology, bookkeeping, and English.[20]

By the time of the Civil War, almost every Cherokee child had some formal education. The results were far reaching in the future. Some were immediately evident. Most important was the emergence of increased opportunity for more promising careers for the youth of the Nation.

Along with the development of education there was evidence of a maturing legal structure within the Cherokee Nation. Upon settling the new land the Cherokees brought with them many of their old tribal laws and customs. These old tribal rules inflicted cruel punishments. A petty thief was sure to receive at least a hundred lashes from the "black snake," and the horse thief's only reward was the typically western hangman's noose. Hanging was also the specified punishment for arson. Many of these older laws were inconsistent with the laws of today; for example, a rapist would be whipped one hundred times instead of drawing life imprisonment or the death sentence. Fines were also incorporated as punishments, especially in cases involving possession of liquor. During the decade before the Civil War,

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[20] Hugh T. Cunningham, "A History of the Cherokee Indians," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. VIII (December and September, 1930), pp. 291, 407; Every to Butler, August 2, 1855, Senate Executive Document 53, 34th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1855), p. 451; Woodford to Butler, August 11, 1855, Senate Executive Document 55, 34th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1855), p. 452.

floggings stopped and in general the punishments became milder. [21]

The Cherokee Nation by treaty had the right to pass its own laws and govern its own people. Actually, the Federal Government imposed the same code of laws upon the Cherokees as was imposed on the District of Columbia. This, by no means, allowed the Cherokees true autonomy. What was needed for the whole of Indian Territory was one clear and simple law code which would still allow the various tribes to run their own affairs. [22]

Rector was a new Indian superintendent in 1857, but his report of that year suggested many needed legal reforms. Emphasis was placed on the need to reopen Fort Gibson in order to cut down whiskey trading between the Creeks and the Cherokees. A proposition was made that Indian agents be given more power in dealing with white people living in the Nation. This was desirable so that the property of these non-citizens could be protected. One of the more urgent reforms of this period concerned legal counsel. Many Indians were tried without the aid of a lawyer, either because they were not aware that they needed one or because they could not afford one. The Federal Government began to offer such services when the Cherokees could not secure them. [23]

One of the trickiest questions confronting the Cherokee Nation was that of legal jurisdiction. The United States District Court at Van Buren, Arkansas, assumed control over the Nation. Yet, according to the Treaty of 1835, Article V, the Cherokees were given the powers to pass and enforce laws binding on all persons within their borders. The court at Van

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[21] James W. Duncan, "Interesting Ante-Bellum Laws of the Cherokees, Now Oklahoma History," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. VI (June 1928), p. 178-180.

[22] Rector to Denver, September 24, 1857, Senate Executive Document 85, 35th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1857), p. 487.

[23] *Ibid.,* pp. 483-484.

Buren took all cases involving whites and Negroes. Those cases would naturally involve Indians as well. The result was that a slave could testify against the master. In no other Federal Court at that time could this happen. Butler strenuously objected to this because he, like most Indian agents, was ardently pro-slavery. The Cherokees in general became hostile towards the very existence of the court at Van Buren. Indians were often captured inside Indian Territory and were taken off to Van Buren without the recognition of any right of habeas corpus whatsoever. The Cherokee Council felt that Indian criminals should be tracked down by the tribe in cooperation with the Indian agents. Trial would then be held somewhere in Indian Territory to avoid confusion. Even whites were subject to an Indian court, except those working for the Federal Government. Another possible solution centered around moving the court from Van Buren into Indian Territory and forming it into three branches, one each in the Cherokee, Creek, and Choctaw countries. Unfortunately nothing was done. Even John Ross, a conservative, denounced the court at Van Buren as an encroachment upon the rights of the Cherokee Nation. [24]

According to the Treaty of 1835, the Cherokees were to be allowed delegates to the United States House of Representatives. Congress took no action in the matter, and the delegates sent by the Cherokees were not seated. In fact ever since 1835, the tribe had paid lobbyists to protect their interests in Washington. Many times the Indian agents and superintendents called on Congress to remedy the situation, but no action was taken.

The constitution of the Cherokees was the epitomy of their legal maturity. The document compared favorably to

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[24] Butler to Dean, August 11, 1855, Senate Executive Document 48, 34th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1855), p. 445; Rector to Denver, September 24, 1857, Senate Document 85, 35th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1857), pp. 485-494.

any of the bordering states in both theory and practice. The constitution plainly called for the separation of the different powers of government. It set up a separate system of courts, and the legislature was empowered to pass written laws. Specific laws setting up a school structure were also included within the constitution.[25]

Even with a liberal constitution, a refined code of laws, and the desire for more equal rights, the Cherokees faced a serious problem concerning their civil rights. It was made very clear that as long as the Indian, especially the Cherokee, was not a United States citizen he would not be given the rights of a United States citizen. [26]

The neutral lands controversy was closely associated with the legal questions confronting the Cherokee Nation. This dispute involved not only the land but also the traders and settlers living on the land. The Cherokees owned approximately 800,000 acres in what is now the eastern part of the state of Kansas. This area had been received by the Cherokees from the United States, in lieu of a $500,000 debt. This "neutral land" area was not in use except for grazing purposes, and consequently the Cherokees were criticized for merely holding the land and not paying taxes on it. White settlers could see no reason for passing up this fertile land when no one was using it. These settlers were drawn to the region in increasing numbers; some came because of reports of minerals. The crux of the matter developed around the question of who should handle the situation, the Cherokees or the Federal Government. Naturally, the Cherokees felt the whole matter should be left up to them to decide. Some citizens even suggested that the tribe be given the power to lay and collect ad valorem taxes

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[25] Butler to Rector, September 8, 1857, Senate Executive Document 86, 35th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reposts of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* p. 486.

[26] Rector to Denver, September 24, 1857, Senate Executive Document 85, 35th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* p. 489.

on the trader's goods. The state of Kansas went so far as to say they had the right to sell the land themselves because the Cherokees held no real claim to it. Chief Ross bitterly opposed this view.[27]

The controversy had two main results: It induced a move to sell the land because the Cherokees needed the money; and in the meantime the Federal Government concentrated on removal of the intruders (white people). On June 12, 1858, the United States Congress passed a law requiring the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to remove all unwarranted persons from the Cherokee tribal lands. This law was actually included in the third section of the 1858 appropriations bill. Commissioner A. B. Greenwood instructed Butler to remove all of the settlers. This order pertained even to those people who had permission from the Cherokees to settle the land. Action was to be taken immediately after April 1, 1860, and no further settlements were to be tolerated. Greenwood charged Charles W. Blair, the commander at Fort Scott, Kansas, with the duty of removing these people in compliance with the new law. This procedure was looked upon as the only answer since no treaty to purchase the land was foreseeable in the future.[28]

The desire to sell the neutral lands involved even more difficulties. In the first place the Cherokees did not have the right to sell the land to anyone but the Federal Government.

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[27] Rector to Mix, October 12, 1859, Senate Executive Document 39, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1859), p. 530; Rector to Greenwood, September 23, 1859, Senate Executive Document 46, 36th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* p. 530; Chief Ross to Grand Council, October 5, 1857, Senate Document 90, 35th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* pp. 509-11.

[28] U. S. Congress, *U. S. Statutes at Large* 70 Vols., (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1845-1967), Vol. II, p. 332; Greenwood to Butler, n. d., Senate Executive Document 91, 36th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1859), p. 444.

The Cherokee National Council was asking the price of the original debt plus interest. Washington was willing to pay the principle but would not pay the interest that had collected over the years. Some people, John W. Denver, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, among them, believed that the Cherokees deserved the full price. The alternative to this dilemma would have been to give the Cherokees the power to sell their land to the individual settlers wanting to live there. However, to accomplish this the members of the tribe (Cherokee citizens) would have to be given United States citizenship. This important question was never settled before the advent of the Civil War.[29]

It was, perhaps, fitting that in the Cherokee Nation before the Civil War, one of the most perplexing problems was slavery. Slavery in the Cherokee Nation had a long history. Negro servitude to Indians had its beginning in the East through British influence. As early as 1811, there were 583 Negro slaves within the Cherokee Nation, which at that time numbered 12,395. A law passed by the Cherokee Council in 1824 stated that all free Negroes coming into the Cherokee lands were looked upon as intruders, and these Negroes were prohibited from owning property according to the same law. In 1825, the number of slaves in the Nation was over twice the number in 1811. The census of 1825 revealed 1,222 slaves. Negroes were not citizens of the Cherokee Nation, and they were thus prohibited from intermarriage, from voting, and from holding public office. In 1841 laws were passed by the Council making it a crime for any Negro to carry a weapon. Negroes were forbidden to attend school because the Cherokees feared that education

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[29] Denver to Thompson, November 30, 1857, Senate Executive Document 42, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1857), p. 246; Rector to Greenwood, September 23, 1859, Senate Executive Document 46, 36th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* p. 531; Rector to Mix, October 12, 1858, Senate Executive Document 39, 35th Congress, 2nd Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1858), p. 531.

might lead to civil violence. The missionaries ignored this law and forced the Council to take more drastic steps. On October 24, 1848, the Cherokee Council passed a law declaring that any non-citizen guilty of teaching a Negro to read or write would be asked to leave the Nation.[30]

The Cherokees, by 1855, had grown dependent on slavery for much of their labor. This was so evident that in 1859 Butler revealed that he was "clearly of the opinion that the rapid advancement of the Cherokees is owing in part to the fact of their being slaveholders." The prevailing attitude was that every Indian would become more industrious by having his own slave.[31] The Cherokees believed that slavery was their most important and cherished institution.

The only problem seemed to be the anti-slavery missionaries. Butler stresses the point that these missionaries should abide by the Cherokee traditions.[32] The missionaries were repeatedly advised to mind their own business. Dissention continued to rise but the question of slavery, like the controversy over the neutral lands, was not settled until after the Civil War.

The story of life in the Cherokee Nation from 1855 to 1860 is one of growth and advancement in spite of the difficulties in the areas of education, morals, and politics. The tragedy of this development is that it had to be interrupted by the Civil War. The Cherokee Nation was a victim of its time. As the culture of the Cherokees grew, ingrained hatred in the rest of the United States took deeper root. The sectional clash came at a time when the good life

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[30] J. B. Davis, "Slavery in the Cherokee Nation," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XI (June, 1933), pp. 1062-65.

[31] Butler to Rector, September 8, 1859, Senate Executive Document 49, 36th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* p. 540.

[32] Butler to Dean, August 11, 1855, Senate Executive Document 48, 34th Congress, 1st Session, U. S. Department of the Interior, *Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,* p. 444.

was near at hand for the Cherokees. The importance of this development is the fact that gains were made by the Cherokees after a transition had been made from the "Trail of Tears" journey west to the new land. These people desired an education, they desired to increase their productivity, and they desired to run their own political lives. More important than the desire for a better life was the fact that the Cherokees earned a better life.

THE KILLING OF BIG SNAKE

By J. Stanley Clark

"The six soldiers took hold of him. He hung back. The officer then ordered his men to handcuff him. At this Big Snake began to make use of his wonderful strength. He threw the soldiers from him like chaff. A soldier struck him over the head with the butt of his gun a blow that would have brought an ox to the ground, but still Big Snake kept his feet and would not be taken." — Testimony of George Frisbie, Agency carpenter, on the killing of Big Snake at the Ponca Agency, Indian Territory, October 31, 1879.

No tribe suffered more from its removal to Indian Territory than the Ponca. For generations the tribe resided in the southeastern portion of Dakota Territory and a northeastern fringe of Nebraska along the Niobrara River near its confluence with the Missouri. The Ponca numbered fewer than eight hundred in the 1870's when the federal government decided to extend the reservation system to the powerful Siouian Nation which roamed over the lands to the west and north. Through an oversight made by a federal commission to the Sioux in 1868, a treaty was made with member tribes and bands which wrongfully gave them the territory previously reserved for and occupied by the Ponca, an affiliate tribe. For the next nine years Poncas continued to reside on the reserve, occasionally molested by their wilder and more warlike neighbors and always envious of the better treatment accorded their ancient enemies. Year after year they watched boat loads of supplies go up the Missouri River bound for the Sioux while they, defenseless and peaceable, were suffered to get along on half rations as part of the civilizing process.[1] They must have realized this policy penalized peaceful tribes and pampered the hostiles. They should have realized that, in power politics, the weak have no rights which cannot be violated by the strong.

The government solution to the problem it had created was simple: remove the Poncas from their ancient lands to

[1] *Annual Report of Commissioner for Indian Affairs* for 1872, p.3 (Washington, 1872). See also Lawrence F. Schmeckebier, *The Office of Indian Affairs,* pp. 66-70 (Baltimore, 1927).

Indian Territory. By acts of Congress August 15, 1876 and March 3, 1877 legislation and appropriations were approved for this purpose.[2] The legislation provided that the consent of the Poncas to the removal should be obtained. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, an office of administration under the Department of the Interior, had already decided the Indians were to be removed, with or without their consent.[3] Colonel E. C. Kemble, Indian Inspector for the Bureau, was ordered to the Ponca Reserve in Nebraska early in 1877 to meet with Indian leaders and prepare the tribe for removal. He accompanied ten of the Poncas to Indian Territory to select a site for location of the tribe. Having little interest and no enthusiasm for the move, most of the committee abandoned the search and made their way back to the reserve.

Upon Kemble's return north from the inspection trip into Indian Territory, he began a series of meetings with the Indians in attempts to win their reluctant consent to removal. Colonel Pinckney Lugenbeel sent a detachment of troops down from Fort Randall "to intimidate the more evilly disposed Ponca soldiers." They would make a timely arrival. On April 6 Kemble met with opposing Chiefs and their soldier-followers at the agency, a group with closed minds toward removal. The Ponca soldier Big Snake, according to Kemble, finally stated, in an excited manner, "that I could leave my words and go across the river." In the midst of the discussion the mounted company of troops from Fort Randall, under the command of Captain Fergus Walker,

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[2] *U. S. Statues at Large,* Vol. XIX, pp. 192, 287.

[3] Smith to Kemble, January 15, 1877, in Office of Indian Affairs, *Records of Letters Sent,* Letterbook 132: 358-61; Carrier to Hayes, October 6, 1877, in Office of Indian Affairs, *Ponca,* P — 527/1877. Letters received by the Office of Indian Affairs were placed in the file at the Agency, usually identified by the initial of the sender, and numbered consecutively, by year. These documents are deposited in the National Archives. Hereafter, the Office of Indian Affairs is cited as OIA.

Printed investigative committee reports on the Ponca removal appear as *Senate Report* 670, 46 Congress 2 Sessions (Washington, 1880, Serial 1898) and *Senate Executive Document 30,* 46 Congress 3 Session (Washington, 1881, Serial 1941).

arrived at the agency site.[4] Big Snake and his brother, Standing Bear, were arrested for inciting resistance to the government.

Possessed of extraordinary strength, Big Snake was about six feet four inches tall and well within the prime of life. He had the reputation of being truculent and overbearing in dealings with tribesmen, and not amenable to agency restrictions. The elder Standing Bear was almost sixty years of age and of more than average height. He was a persuasive speaker whose commanding voice was an instrument of protest wielded against true and imagined indignities and humiliations thrust upon the tribe by government policies. Standing Bear was one of the band of eight who, earlier in the year without funds or provisions or permission, had returned to the Agency on the Niobrara from the inspection trip to Indian Territory. The two brothers spent the next few weeks as prisoners at Fort Randall and were released only in time to join the last caravan to cross the Niobrara River May 19 on the trek to the new reserve at the Quapaw Agency in Indian Territory, below Baxter Springs, Kansas.

The Poncas were not satisfied with the site selected for their new home. Lack of provisions, poor sanitary conditions, make-shift shelters, and exposure combined with malaria contributed to so much sickness and death that a new location was found for them the next summer. They relinquished their lands near baxter Springs for a reserve along the Salt Fork of the Arkansas River. When they arrived at the new location in July 1878, no accommodations of any sort awaited them. They experienced again a summer and fall of malaria and pneumonia with a high death rate.[5]

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[4] Lugenbeel to Assistant Adjutant General, April 6, 1877 (copy) in OIA, *Ponca,* L — 386-1877; Kemble to Smith, April 13, 1877, OIA, *Ponca,* K — 135/1877; Report of Lt. Colonel Pinckney Lugenbeel, October 1, 1877, in *Report of the Secretary of War, House Executive Document* 1, pp. 564, 45 Congress 2 Session (Washington, 1877, Serial 1794). Neither Standing Bear nor Big Snake could speak or understand the English language; Kemble was dependent upon an interpreter for translation of remarks made by the Poncas.

[5] The number of Poncas present at the first issuance of rations on the Quapaw Reserve in July, 1877, was 690. There were at least 90

In January, 1879, Standing Bear with a party of thirty men, women, and children slipped away from the Ponca Reserve determined to return to their former homes on the Niobrara. A daughter of Standing Bear had died during the removal to Indian Territory and after arriving at Quapaw he lost another child as well as his wife's mother and grandmother from illness. Shortly after arrival at the Salt Fork Reserve, his only son died. Grief and homesickness overpowered the old chief. Putting the bones of his son in his wagon, he and the others left from camp near the mouth of the Chikaskie River in Indian Territory, some eight miles from Agency headquarters, during a severe cold wave.

Six days passed before the Ponca Agent, William H. Whiteman, learned of the departure of Standing Bear and group. The agent sent a frantic appeal to Washington to have the Oto and Omaha agencies in Nebraska notified that if the refugees appeared at either place they were to be arrested and returned by soldier-escort to Indian Territory.[6] When the half-famished band reached the Omaha Reserve March 4, a detachment of troops was ordered from Fort Omaha to bring the refugees to the fort to prepare them for transport back to Indian Territory.

Sympathetic citizens of the city of Omaha, meantime, interceded in behalf of Standing Bear and his followers. Attorneys willingly consented to sue for a writ of habeas corpus for the release of the Indians from military custody. At a hearing held by Judge Elmer S. Dundy of the federal district court he decided no rightful authority existed for the removal by force of any of the Ponca Indians to Indian

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deaths by mid-August, 1878; at the new location, during the first month of occupancy, 34 persons had died. In August, 15 more died, and 19 in September. See Whiteman to Hayt, August 19, August 20, 1878, in OIA, *Ponca,* W — 1522, P — 1574/1878; "Report of E. M. Kingsley", in *Tenth Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners* for 1878, pp. 82-3 (Washington, 1879).

[6] Whiteman to Hayt, January 8, 11, 1879, in OIA, *Ponca* W — 139 and W — 150/1879.

Territory, and ordered their release.[7]

The decision aroused ire and alarm in the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the War Department. The opinion was expressed by representatives of these agencies that the ruling could undermine the entire reservation system: If an Indian could come and go as he pleased, he would not need a permit nor be required to request for permission to leave the reserve. The reaction expressed by William Tecumseh Sherman, General of the Armies of the United States, in his telegram of May 20, 1879, to George W. McCrary, Secretary of War, was typical[8]:

> Inasmuch as Judge Dundy has released from custody the Ponca Indians who escaped from their Agency where they were fed and maintained by the Indian Bureau, I think it would be fair in his charity to feed and clothe them. They are in fact paupers turned loose on the community by him and he should assume the task and expense of their maintenance. If the Ponca Indians prefer to rely on him, I suppose the army can well allow him to assume that function.

Two days after this message, however, General Sherman sent a telegram to General Phil Sheridan, Commander of the Western Department, informing him that Judge Dundy's release of Standing Bear did not apply to any other than that particular case. The fear subsided of a stampede of all northern tribes held in Indian Territory. Agents at the reservations, nevertheless, were alerted to identify malcontented Indians.[9]

Big Snake was identified as a troublemaker on the Ponca

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[7] Zylyff (T. H. Tibbles), *The Ponca Chiefs* (Boston, 1880), includes the decision of Judge Dundy. After the trial, Standing Bear was conducted on a tour of eastern cities. See Stanley Clark, *Ponca Publicity* with The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. XXIX, pp. 495-516 (March, 1943).

[8] *Senate Executive Document 14,* 46th Congress 3 Session.

[9] W. T. Sherman to P. H. Sheridan, May 22, 1879 (copy) in OIA, Ponca, W — 1197/1879; Whiteman to Hayt, May 10, 1879, in *Ibid., Ponca* W — 1096/1879. Some of the Northern Cheyenne led by Dull Knife and Little Wolf had left Indian Territory the previous September. It was not unusual for Indians from northern tribes, singly or in small groups, to leave Indian Territory for their former homeland.

Reservation. He boasted, after his brother went north and Judge Dundy ruled he should not be forced to return to Indian Territory, that the federal government could not nor would not enforce the regulation of the Interior Department which restricted reservation Indians to its confines.

An Indian custom was to visit other tribes, renew pledges of friendship and exchange gifts. Indians, with little regard for property values, were overly generous in bestowing gifts upon visitors. About the time of Judge Dundy's decision the Poncas were in need of riding stock so Big Snake and another soldier-Ponca, The Chief, thought it timely to visit friends in the Cheyenne tribe with the expectation of returning with some valuable ponies.

The idea appealed to several other Poncas. White Eagle, principal Chief, asked the agent for a pass but it was refused and he did not go. This did not deter others including Big Snake, The Chief, Standing Buffalo, Little Picker, Cheyenne, No Heart, Packs The Horse, Little Shooter, Buffalo Head, Yellow Bird, Sick Bull, Little Water, Little Soldier, Harry King, Child Chief, Foretop, Shines White, Spirit, Bear's Ear, Blue Black, Not Afraid, No Ear, Pretty Hawk, Louis Primeaux, Stands Black, Little Walker, Poison Hunter, Walking Sky, Little Voice, Antoine Roy, McDonald, White Buffalo, Bull, Pawnee Chief, and Makes Noise. Sixty-one Ponca men and five women made the unauthorized visit. They had high hopes of realizing a rich harvest of presents.[10]

When Agent Whiteman learned of the departure of the Poncas, he immediately sent a letter to Fort Reno by one of his mounted Indian police requesting the arrest and imprisonment of Big Snake and The Chief and the return of the others to the agency. Major J. K. Mizner, commander of the post located in the Cheyenne-Araphoe Reservation, at once sent out a detachment of cavalry to intercept the self-invited visitors but they came onto the reserve by a

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[10] Whiteman to Hayt, May 13, 1879 (with enclosures), *OIA, Ponca,* W — 1109/1879; and Campbell to Hayt, May 18, 1879, *OIA Ponca,* H — 687/1879.

different route. The leaders reported to the commander the following day and were straightway arrested. Officers imprisoned Big Snake and The Chief and on May 29 started the other Poncas homeward under troop escort.[11]

Big Snake had the typical Indian horror of imprisonment. He missed his wife's native cooking. He longed for freedom and the life to which he was accustomed. These, of course, were denied. Daily, he grew more morose. The only pleasure he experienced came from the performance of feats of strength during exercise periods, conducted under constant surveillance. These tended to arouse uneasy fears rather than admiration from his guardsman. Consequently, all through the hot, sticky days and nights of June and July guards were ordered to keep him under close watch.

Early in August Major Mizner had Big Snake and The Chief escorted back to the Ponca Reserve. The Ponca agent, William Whiteman, sensed that Big Snake's recent imprisonment had not improved his disposition. Half-veiled threats reached Whiteman that Big Snake considered him a very bad man. Nor had the prison term improved Big Snake's attitude toward agency restrictions. He continued to conform to tribal customs. He resented his recent imprisonment and refused to speak to the agent when they occasionally met. Whiteman had heard that Big Snake would like to take him in his vise-like hands and squeeze some reason into him. Twice Big Snake left without permission to visit the neighboring Pawnees and both times returned with ponies, much to the envy of more timid tribesman.

If agency policies prescribed by the Indian Bureau were to be followed, Agent Whiteman reached the reluctant conclusion in late October that the attitude of Big Snake toward the reservation system and its civilizing processes must be changed. He forwarded a list of grievances to the Washington office. He charged that Big Snake was a bully;

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[11] Mizner to Whiteman, May 18, 1879, in *OIA, Ponca,* M — 1208/1879; Campbell to Hayt, May 29, 1879, in *OIA, Ponca,* M — 1125/1879; Also, W. T. Sherman to P. H. Sheridan, May 22, 1879 (copy), in *OIA, PONCA,* W — 1197/1879.

that he stirred trouble among the dissatisfied Nez Perces, who were located on an adjoining reserve also administered by Whiteman; that he completely ignored the pass system and was a dangerous influence who caused trouble in the administration of Indian affairs.[12]

Federal authority moved to curb Big Snake's freedom. E. A. Hayt, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, showed Whiteman's communication to his superior, Carl Schurz, the Secretary of the Interior, who summarily requested the Secretary of War, George W. McCrary, to order the immediate arrest and imprisonment of Big Snake.[13] McCrary prepared an order to General Sherman who forwarded it to Lieutenant General Phil Sheridan who transmitted it to Major General John Pope, in command of the Department of the Missouri. Through channels the order reached Major Mizner who dispatched Lieutenant Mason from Fort Reno with a detail of thirteen men from Company H, Fourth Cavalry to the Ponca Agency to arrest Big Snake and bring him to the post for imprisonment.

This transpired, of course, without Big Snake's knowledge. He continued to ignore agency rules and put in an appearance at headquarters only when necessary to draw weekly rations of sugar, salt, beef, beans, and coffee or to receive the pay he occasionally earned from hauling agency supplies from Arkansas City, Kansas. On the last day of October some money was due him for such services. He came to the agency headquarters to collect his pay.

The timeliness of his visit fitted well into the plans of Agent Whiteman and Lieutenant Mason. They had discussed the inadvisability of taking Big Snake out in the yard where some of his friends might make trouble. Already the presence of the federal troops aroused curiosity among the Indians, but Big Snake apparently was unaware of any intentions

[12] Whiteman to Hayt, October 20, 1879, in OIA, *Ponca,* W - 2661/1879.

[13] Hayt to Whiteman, October 31, 1879, OIA, *Correspondence, Civilization Division,* 27:258. Also Sherman to Sheridan, October 25, 1879 (copy), OIA, *Ponca,* W - 2311/1879.

toward him.

The two officials decided that the arrest of Big Snake should be delayed until he came into the office, a small room not more than fifteen feet square.[14] Here his resistance could be minimized by the confines of the room and he would be cut off from any effective assistance by possible adherents. Thus the armed soldiers would have complete command.

About mid-afternoon Big Snake entered the room. In the office two Indians lolled, trader J. S. Sherburne was presenting bills against individual tribesmen as they arrived, Clerk A. R. Satterthwaite was checking accounts with Whitemen and the Pawnee interpreter, Joseph Esau, and the agency carpenter, George Frisbie, had just entered the office to speak to the agent. In the room also, were Mason, Corporal William Dobbin, Private James Casey and two other enlisted men restlessly awaiting the completion of their assignment.

The soldiers had no stomach for their task. They remembered the recent Cheyenne outbreak led by Little Wolf and Dull Knife. They suspected that the great Indian soldier-leader, Joseph of the nearby Nez Perces, was conniving a more ruthless dash toward his beloved northland, and messages received at Fort Reno before their departure had prompted inflamed rumors on the uprising of the White River Utes in Colorado. Nervously the troopers watched Big Snake enter and take a seat. They gripped their rifles a little firmer as they recalled his boast made at the Fort Reno guardhouse the preceding summer that he could take any three of the guards in his arms and throw them away dead.

Lieutenant Mason approached Big Snake and informed him he was placed under arrest. Big Snake could not understand. Again Mason urged the Ponca to come along, but Big Snake insisted that he had killed no one, had stolen no

[14] Report of Captain W. H. Clapp. 16th Infantry, on his investigation of the killing of Big Snake by a detachment of Company "H," Fourth Cavalry sent to arrest him. (Dated) November 10, 1879 (copy), OIA, *Ponca,* W — 2545/1879.

horses, had done nothing wrong. Agent Whiteman advised him to go with the troops. He reluctantly consented on the condition his wife accompany him to Fort Reno. The request was refused. Then he asked that an interpreter make the four-day journey with him but this, too, was refused.

Big Snake stood. He held wide the folds of his blanket in a gesture signifying that he was unarmed. Then, with finality, he sat down, and despite pleadings of his Ponca friend, Hairy Bear, and the insistence of the lieutenant, he would not move. His mind was made up. He would not submit under such terms.

Mason became impatient because the arrest order had to be carried out. It was time to begin the march back to Fort Reno. The lieutenant called additional soldiers into the room. He tried to handcuff Big Snake but was shoved aside. Six soldiers then took hold of the Indian. He raised up and threw them off. Just then one of the soldiers struck him in the face with the butt of a gun while another clubbed him over the head. The blows knocked him back against the wall. Blood gushed down his face. Dobbins placed the barrel of his rifle against Big Snake's head and squeezed the trigger.[15]

The killing of Big Snake focused public attention upon the Poncas. At the time Standing Bear and entourage were in Boston soliciting funds to take their case to the Supreme Court for clarification of the status and rights of reservation Indians. The well-known evangelist of the Clarendon Street Baptist Church in Boston, Joseph Cook, whose Monday lectures appeared in many papers of that decade had "the pain of announcing that the brother of Standing Bear has been shot like a dog for asserting the rights maintained on this platform by our revolutionary heroes.[16] Boston citizens

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[15] *Ibid.* Also, Sheridan to Adjutant General, November 1, 1879 (copy), in OIA, *Ponca,* W — 2403/1879, and Whiteman to Hayt, November 3, 1879, OIA, *Ponca,* W — 2385/1879. A senate investigative report including testimony gathered at the Ponca Agency was printed as *Senate Executive Document 14,* 46th Congress, 3 Session (Washington, 1881, Serial 1941).

[16] Boston *Daily Advertiser,* November 4, 1879.

demanded a congressional investigation on the plight of the Poncas and Henry L. Dawes, Junior senator from Massachusetts, became the spokesman in Congress for the Boston philanthropists who sponsored the Ponca cause.

It was popular at the time to attack the often-mentioned but never properly identified "Indian Ring." Wendell Phillips, at a previous meeting in Boston attended by the Standing Bear delegation cited several instances of alleged cruelties practiced by the "Indian Ring." The mayor of Boston, Frederick O. Prince, related that the "Indian Ring has been organized for years to oppress and plunder this unfortunate race," and Evangelist Cook expressed an opinion common to many opponents of Secretary Schurz when he stated in the course of a Monday lecture, "The Boston committee did find an Indian Ring but it was welded so closely about the neck of the Secretary that it was invisible under his beard." Helen Hunt Jackson wrote the Secretary for an explanation on the treatment of the Poncas "in a clear and explicit form that can be understood." Dawes, in a speech to the senate, characterized the death of Big Snake as a "willful, cruel murder," then referred to the "Prussianization" of the Indian Office and made other remarks the German-born Secretary of the Interior, Carl Schurz, resented.[17]

Schurz, perhaps for the only time in his career, found himself in opposition to views expressed by philanthropists and reformers within his party. He caustically informed Mrs. Jackson that the Ponca Case would not be carried to the Supreme Court, that he had no intention of approving appeal procedures. And two days after Dawes' speech, every senator found upon his desk a letter from Schurz including a copy of one addressed to Dawes. This expedient was resorted to, as the Secretary stated, because the Senator was protected in his own remarks by constitutional immunity. Schurz pointedly gibed the Senator for his silence on the Ponca cause until his

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[17] Boston *Daily Advertiser,* August 7, 1879; the *Advance* (New York and Chicago), April 8, 1880; New York *Tribune,* March 3, 4, 12, 14, 1880; Helen Hunt Jackson, *A Century of Dishonor,* pp. 359-66 (Boston, 1888); *Congressional Record,* XI, Part 2, pp. 1056-70, 46 Congress 3 Session, January 3, 1881.

constituents took an interest in their treatment. In his letter Schurz set forth in detail all the wrongs done the tribe but shifted the blame from his Department.[18] President Rutherford B. Hayes gave his Secretary a left-handed rebuke when he included this statement in his report to Congress: "I do not undertake to apportion the blame for the injustice done the Poncas. Whether the Executive or Congress or the public is chiefly at fault is not now a question of practicable importance."[19]

Schurz, meantime, set in motion agency policies intended to make Indian Territory more attractive to the Poncas. A change of personnel was made at the agency. Each head of an Indian family was provided a frame house furnished with stove and furniture. Each family had a milk cow, horses, and farm tools. An agency herd of cattle was established. A physician in residence and medical supplies were maintained. A stone and brick industrial school building — one of the most imposing in the Indian service — was begun, and its construction furnished employment to Ponca men who wanted work. Any of them who wished could earn wages by hauling supplies from Arkansas City. Others were employed as herdsmen or Indian police. Perhaps more important, however, was the abandonment of the pass system, the allowing of friendly visits to nearby tribes. Before Carl Schurz left office, in 1881, Congress passed an appropriation providing $20,000 for a per capita payment to the Poncas in Indian Territory as a balm for past suffering. The Poncas were given a year for visitation to Dakota and to make up their minds whether to move back to that region near Standing Bear and other tribesmen. The majority of them, however, decided to remain in Indian Territory where they were now acclimated and births annually exceeded deaths.

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[18] Frederic Bancroft, ed., *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, Vol. IV, pp. 91-113 (6 Vols; New York, 1913).

[19] Rutherford B. Hayes, "Special Message to the Senate and House of Representatives," February 1, 1881. The copy examined appears in *A Compilation of the Messages* and *Papers* of the Presidents 1789-1879, edited by James D. Richardson (Washington, 1898); the quotation appears in Vol. VII, p. 634 of the set.

The Boston philanthropists continued to work for improvements in the administration of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. A committee chaired by Governor John D. Long of Massachusetts compiled a special report on the Poncas from records of the Bureau. The non-political Board of Indian Commissioners of ten men, formed in 1869 as an advisory body on Indian affairs, conducted on-site investigations at the Ponca Agency. Earnest men and women met in Philadelphia in 1882 and organized the important Indian Rights Association as a direct outgrowth of interest created in the fate of the brothers Standing Bear and Big Snake.

QUAIL HUNTING: BIG BUSINESS IN EARLY OKLAHOMA

By Lonnie E. Underhill and Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr.

The common bobwhite quail, the *Colinus Virginianus*, appears in the history of the Oklahoma and the Indian territories much like the passenger pigeon, the wild turkey, and the prairie chicken, as a staple in the diet of the Indian and the white settler. It was not long, however, until the demand for the bobwhite was not restricted to local consumption, and his tasty flesh soon became known to the Americans living in the East. Meat packing companies sent their hunters into the Territory and began taking thousands of the birds which were shipped to various points and prepared for eastern markets. At first they did the hunting themselves, and later as business grew and the demand for the delicacy became greater, settlers in the Indian Territlry were offered attractive fees to bring quail to designated points where company representatives would purchase them. It is ironic that one of the earliest references to quail in the territorial newspapers was an advertisement in the *Cherokee Advocate* on January 18, 1879, whereby one Charles Fredericks of Brooklyn, New York, offered "to buy live quail in large numbers to be delivered to express company at railway depot."[1] Fortunately, the bobwhite's plight in Oklahoma was not like that of the passenger pigeon, which became extinct, or like that of the wild turkey, which became all but extinct in Oklahoma. He somehow held his own despite the heavy demand placed on him by his predators and hunters.

Pioneers in the territories reported habits of the quail they found — habits which seem strange to us today. The quail were said to have been numerous and almost as gentle as domestic chickens are today. It was no task at all for an early settler to have quail to eat most of the time.[2] When

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[1] The Cherokee Advocate, January 18, 1879, p. 3.

[2] *Indian-Pioneer History,* Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, Vol. CXIII, p. 494, hereafter cited as *Indian-Pioneer History.*

farmers fed their chickens and cattle, they often had to run quail away from the feed troughs.[3] These birds were often considered pests that ate grain crops planted by the early settlers. After a crop was harvested and stored in a barn, quail would fly in large flocks to the barn to feed in the evenings, and if a farmer had a shotgun, he could easily take a dozen to his kitchen for his next meal.[4] And so the story goes.

The quail were distributed generally throughout the state.[5] Interviews with pioneers consistently reflect the same general idea about the quail's numbers: "Game was abundant in those early days, especially quail. We never thought they would become scarce." Reports were similar from all over the Indian Territory. Quail were found in large quantities in the Cherokee Nation, the Choctaw Nation, the Osage Nation, the Cheyenne and Arapaho country, the Chickasaw Nation, and Caddo, Kiowa and Comanche lands. They were also numerous in the Oklahoma lands.[6] In short, quail were in the Territories by the thousands, and had it not been for such great quantities of game in those early territorial days, many of the settlers would never have survived because money and supplies were hard to obtain. Surveyors who platted the country depended on wild game and quail for all of their meat. The birds were not afraid of a gun and would not fly

[3] *Ibid.,* Vol. XXIII, p. 181.

[4] *Ibid.,* Vol. XLI, 158.

[5] For a discussion of the distribution of quail, see the thorough study in George Miksch Sutton, *Oklahoma Birds* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), pp. 138-143.

[6] For references to these localities, see *Indian-Pioneer History,* Vol. II, p. 196; Vol. XLVII, p. 155; Vol. XLVII, p. 283; Vol. LXII, p. 275; Vol. II, p. 196; Vol. XLVIII, p. 287; Vol. XLVIII, p. 347; Vol. II, p. 275; Vol. XII, p. 421; Vol. XIV, p. 216; Vol. CV, p. 407.

For newspaper references, see *The Stillwater Advance,* December 19, 1901, p. 6; *The Muskogee Times-Democrat,* January 11, 1906; p. 5; *ibid.,* December 12, 1906, p. 3; and *ibid.,* January 8, 1908, p. 5; *The Cheyenne Transporter,* August 13, 1883, p. 7, and October 28, 1883, p. 8; *The Edmond Sun-Democrat,* October 28, 1897, p. 1; and *ibid.,* April 5, 1895, p. 1. Also, see *The Lawton Constitution,* January 12, 1905, p. 2; *The Norman Transcript,* November 30, 1889, p. 3, and November 9, 1894, p. 6; *The Eagle-Gazette* (Stillwater), November 15, 1894, p. 2; and *The El Reno News,* November 13, 1896, p. 2.

unless one of the men walked too close to them. Early soldiers depended upon quail and other wild game, too. Hogs and chickens were often unavailable to early settlers, compelling them to depend on quail and prairie chickens, a good substitute for domestic fowls.[7] With quail nesting in settlers' front yards and feeding with their chickens, they soon became an important addition to the families' larders. In fact, the demand for quail as food for the citizens of the Territories never ceased.

Had the demands for the quail ended with the needs of the citizens of the Territories, the history of the quail in early Oklahoma would have been a simple story. But such was not the case. The quail became another animal resource of the new land that was abused and quickly reduced in numbers. That abuse was one of the many ills that the railroads brought to the land. Fortunately, railroads were late in coming to the Indian Territory. The Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad was built across the Territory in 1871-72, and the Atlantic and Pacific junctioned with it at Vinita in 1872. It was nearly a decade and a half before any more railway lines were to enter the Territory.[8] The new railroads provided rapid transportation of goods to the North and East. Among the products shipped out of the Territories was fresh game, including the quail.

By the 1880's abuse of the quail and its shipment out of the Territories to eastern markets became the concern of the population. The Territories by this time had become well-known as game reserves, attracting hunting parties from several states. Every year the hunters came with better weapons and better dogs, until the killing of quail and other game was made easy. They came and shot the quail by the hundreds, merely for the sport of killing, and commercial hunters came and shot or captured the quail by the thousands for shipment to eastern markets. And there was waste. Reports

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[7] *Indian-Pioneer History,* Vol. XXIII, p. 159; Vol. CVIII, p. 57; and Vol. LXVI, p. 295.

[8] Joseph B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma* (New York: The American History Society, 1916), Vol. I, p. 435.

began appearing in newspapers that hunters were killing large numbers of animals and letting them rot where they dropped.[9]

The capture of large quantities of quail is difficult for the modern hunter to imagine. He knows that when he walks, unsuspectingly, upon a covey of quail or flushes a covey after his dog has firmly set them, his heart rises into his throat for several seconds. The covey will likely be a small one, and each time the birds flush differently, testing the hunter's skill and giving him an experience difficult to describe. So, when early day hunters spoke of the quail being gentle as domestic fowls and of capturing them in nets, modern hunters have difficulty in comprehending such matters. Again, it was perhaps the newspapers that spurred the interest in netting or trapping quail. One journalist, for instance, published a short article in 1883 to the effect that parties with a net had caught over 200 full-grown quail without any apparent thinning of the ranks.[10]

There were several ways in which quail were netted. First, the quail were gentle and could be driven into areas where nets had been stretched on the ground, ready to be sprung. They were caught in this way by the thousands, cleaned, and packed in barrels for shipment to the East.[11] Second, after the nets had been set, someone who was skilled in whistling like the quail could call great numbers of them into the area where netters would gently capture them.[12] An interview with Robert Meigs in 1937 gives a third method of netting quail.[13] According to Mr. Meigs, the coveys of quail were very numerous, and two hunters could prepare a net suitable for catching great numbers of the birds. Hunters would walk or ride horses back and forth across a field until a covey was

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[9] *The Indian Journal* (Muskogee), August 14, 1884, p. 4.

[10] *The Cheyenne Transporter,* October 28, 1883, p. 1.

[11] *Indian-Pioneer History,* Vol. CV, p. 407.

[12] *Ibid.,* Vol. LI, p. 320.

[13] *Ibid.,* Vol. LVI, pp. 106-108.

spotted. After the birds were located, the hunters would retreat, circle around them, and get in front of the covey and stretch their enclosed nets in a "V" with sides of twenty feet, the open end of the "V" towards the covey. After the net was set, the two men went back to their original positions and began making slight noises, whistling, slapping their legs, or rapping two sticks together. The covey would begin to move away from the hunters, who by movements of their own could control the direction of the covey and could drive the birds towards the nets.

There were times, however, said Mr. Meigs, when the birds would halt and would not move for several minutes at a time. During these waits, the netters stopped their movement and waited patiently for the birds to resume their movement. Attempts to hurry them usually resulted in their taking flight. Consequently, the netters remained at some distance from them, continuing to whistle or rap sticks, and at length the leading quail would start forward again, followed in single file by the remainder of the flock. Once the birds started again, they rarely would stop until they were inside the net. Usually, a smaller net was placed inside the larger one in which the quail would be secured. An entire covey could be trapped easily in this manner. Often, more than one hundred quail were caught in one setting of the nets. One hundred twenty birds were caught on one occasion by two men in the Park Hill vicinity, according to Mr. Meigs. Once captured, the birds were then taken from the net and placed in coops and small movable pens where they soon lost their shyness and ate the same grain that was fed to domestic fowls. Mr. Meigs recalled instances in which two coveys of quail were caught at the same time when a covey being directed toward the net ran onto a second covey in front of them; the second covey fell into the single-file column and went along with the first. Occasionally, netters experienced disappointment when a good-sized covey of birds suddenly took flight at the entrance of the net. Thus, netters preferred calm and not extremely cold weather, or, better still, quiet and cloudy days with drizzle since the birds were not as inclined to fly then as they were under other conditions. As population increased and more firearms were used in quail hunting, the

birds decreased in numbers. They became so wild that they seldom could be netted.

Besides nets, other trapping devices were several types of still traps in which a triggering device would support a box or coop. The quail would trip the mechanism and trap themselves. Often a trap such as this would yield from one to three dozen birds a day.[14] Hunters who captured live quail kept them alive until a shipment was on hand, and at that time they either boxed the birds in live boxes or cleaned them and placed them in barrels of brine and shipped them to St. Louis and other northern cities for further shipment to the East. Dressing birds for market usually included removing the entrails, head, feathers, and feet. To keep the quail from spoiling, each day's kill was kept in separate barrels of brine. Each cleaned bird was placed breast-down in the barrel so that after the flesh had become stiff and firm and the bird was ready for shipment, the bird would have a fresh appearance and bring a better price on the market. [15]

Prices for quail varied from time to time, but the following accounts given by people who knew the business will give the reader some idea of the profits which were made hunting quail and of the places where the game was marketed. Men such as L. W. Altum made their livings solely from the sale of game. Between 1889 and 1894 Altum and two other men traveled through the Territory from Oklahoma City west to the Texas line, killing a variety of game, which, in the summer months, was picked up daily by a game buyer from New York City. The game was iced and shipped to the east. In the winter months, these men did not sell game under contract, as a rule, but rather they hauled their game to Canadian, Texas, and later Waynoka. Since market was usually a two days' journey by wagon, the hunters usually had a full load when they went to market. Game prices varied, but an average price included two dollars

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[14] *Ibid.,* Vol. LXVIII, p. 38. For discussions of these types of traps, see also *ibid.,* Vol. X, p. 105, and Vol. LXI, p. 135.

[15] *Ibid.,* Vol. CVI, p. 99-100.

for a small deer, four dollars for a large buck, fifteen cents apiece for prairie chickens, and a dollar and half for a dozen quail.[16] A man named Thad Slaught sold quail for a dollar per dozen, which earned him as high as sixty dollars per month during the fall and winter. He claimed that many of the settlers in the Oklahoma Territory made more from selling game than from any other occupation.[17] L. A. Crabtree killed quail with a shotgun and sold them at a market in Quanah, Texas, for seventy-five cents per dozen. Robert Kittrell sold his game to markets in Fort Smith or traded it for merchandise. Henry M. Johnson netted quail and sold them each Saturday, live, to buyers in Pauls Valley. T. W. Morton sold fowl to buyers who took them to Kansas City; one of the major game markets there was that of the Beggs Brothers. A man named Sherrill sold his game at Denison, Texas.[18] Clint Smith earned as high as $2.50 per dozen for quail which he shipped to Kansas City. J. T. Sheppard bought quail in Purcell and shipped entire train car loads at a time. J. T. Coleman sold quail for $2.50 per dozen to a man named McBroom who bought for the Gray Produce Company in Chickasha. The Gray Produce would in turn resell to eastern markets for $6.00 per dozen. At various times in the Comanche Country quail sold for $3.00 per dozen, in the Guthrie area markets for $2.50 per dozen, and in the Chickasaw Nation for seventy-five cents per dozen.[19]

Thousand upon thousands of quail, along with other game, were shipped annually from the Indian and Oklahoma Territories, from the coming of the railroads until statehood. At no time was such traffic in game lega, but the governments of the Territories seemed powerless to stop it,

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[16] *Ibid.*, Vol, XII, p. 305.

[17] Ralph H. Records, "Recollections of April 19, 1892," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXI (Spring, 1943), pp. 23-24.

[18] *Indian-Pioneer History,* Vol. XXI, pp. 137-138; *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 129; Vol. V, p. 466; Vol. XXXVII, p. 295; Vol. LXII, p. 275; Vol. LXX, p. 483; Vol. XLIV, p. 359. Kansas City is also listed as a market for game in *The Edmond Sun-Democrat,* December 1, 1899, p. 2.

[19] *Indian-Pioneer History,* Vol. CIX, p. 397; *Ibid.* Vol. LX, p. 232; Vol. LIV, p. 494; Vol. XC, p. 112; Vol. XVI, p. 120; Vol. XVI, p. 72.

however hard they might try. No sooner had the railroads come than the tribes of the Indian Territory found it necessary to protect their game from hunters from the United States. For instance, in 1875 laws were passed forbidding non-citizens to hunt in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations. However, renters of land and immigrant laborers in the Choctaw Nation could hunt for food but could not hunt as a business. The National Council of the Cherokee Nation passed a similar act on December 5, 1877, which became law ninety days later.[20]

The United States also had laws protecting the game in the Indian Territory. Section 2137, page 373, of the *Revised Statutes* read that, "Every person other than an Indian who within the limits of any tribe with whom the United States has any existing treaties hunts or traps or takes and destroys any peltries or game, except for subsistence in the Indian Country shall forfeit all the traps, guns, and ammunition in his possession, used or procured to be used for that purpose, and all peltries so taken, and shall be liable in addition to a penalty of $500."[21]

Despite such laws as these, the hunters became more numerous. Some were granted permits by the Indians to hunt for pleasure, but most were poachers. The former often abused the privileges granted them by the Indians while the latter despoiled the land for profit. In the 1880's the problem became critical. On August 14, 1884, Agent John Q. Tufts of the Union Agency published the Federal statute above and then requested the officials of the Indian Territory to arrest all sportsmen found violating the act and asked that the Indians cooperate with him toward enforcing it. Parties who acted reasonably would not be molested, he said, but anyone who persisted in the ways that had been reported would pay the full penalty of the law he had just cited.

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[20] The Vindicator (Atoka), November 24, 1875, p. 1; and December 8, 1875, p. 4. See also, *The Cherokee Advocate,* April 13, 1878, p. 3.

[21] *The Indian Journal* (Muskogee), August 14, 1884, p. 4.

Measures to enforce the unnecessary killing of quail and other game had been enacted; it then became necessary to enact a law against the shipping of game beyond the limits of the Indian Territory. In 1885 the Cherokee Nation wrote an act as follows: "Be it enacted by the National Council that it shall be unlawful for any citizen of the Nation to ship or transport in any manor [*sic*] beyond the limits of the Cherokee Nation for the purpose of trade or commerce any game either dead or alive such as deer, quail or prairie chickens and ducks or to sell the same to any non-citizen inside the Cherokee Nation." Violators guilty of the misdemeanor were subject to fine of not less than $200 for every offense or imprisonment in the National Prison for not less than one year if in default of payment. The district sheriffs were then authorized to seize any non-citizen, together with his arms, ammunition, and means of transportation and to deliver him to the United States Agent for his removal or to turn him over to the United States marshal to be dealt with.[22] One newspaper claimed that this act resulted from the "relentless slaughter" of game, chiefly by non-citizens. It also stated that a principal objective of the law was to reduce the number of prairie fires that had been set purposely or by accident by the hunters. For this reason, the act was hearily supported by nearly all of the cattlemen.[23]

Evidently, not much interest was taken in the law, for notices were run in the newspapers, reminding the citizens that the killing of game was against the law.[24] There was a lack of strict enforcement of the law, which was not explicit in its wording, because local district sheriffs often were puzzled as to what they were legally authorized to enforce. A

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[22] Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, *Cherokee-Wild Cattle and Game* (Tahlequah), "An Act to Prevent the Shipping of Game Beyond the Limits of the Cherokee Nation, November 25, 1885". See also *The Cherokee Advocate,* December 4, 1885, p. 2; and *The Muskogee Indian Journal,* December 17, 1885, p. 4.

[23] *The Indian Journal* (Muskogee), December 3, 1885, p. 4.

[24] *The Cherokee Advocate,* February 5, 1886, p. 1.

letter from the Goingsnake District Sheriff in 1887 clearly demonstrates the questions brought about by the measures to check the slaughter of game. The letter states:[25]

> . . for myself and my nabors, I write to you in regard to permits for citizens of the United States, To come in This Country and catch Pigens fatten them and ship the same to New York or Boston. I have letters from 4 or 5 of thes men stating that thay are coming here to catch pigons and Quails to ship East. Some of thes men have got pardners here who gets permits for them and others want me to get them permits to Trap or Net in the Nation. The Clerk of this District has given such permits for 2 or 3 years past but the Cherokees of this part of the Country want it Stoped if it can be. We are all good game and bird killers ourselves and think we can get along without thes United States citizens. Thes men come here get permits for comon labor then thay catch all the Pigons Thay can, kill all the Deer Turkeys and quails they can and sen the same East, The Dept Sheriff of this District wants me to ask you, if you can or will, give the Clerk some instruction on the matter of permits, for United States citizens to come in here and hunt fish trap and Net.

The above letter makes it clear that the Indians were more interested in preventing the United States citizens from hunting in the Territory than they were in stopping the slaughter and sale of the game.

The story was much the same in the Oklahoma Territory. The "Unassigned Oklahoma Lands" were opened to white settlement on April 22, 1889. The settlers found game plentiful, and it was not long until the slaughter commenced. Some seven months after settlement, the following story ran in *The Norman Transcript:*[26]

> Big stories about killing game are now afloat in Oklahoma. A Frisco man is reported to have killed 300 quail on Saturday and Sunday and 86 on Monday. There are millions of the little birds here, but the crop can't hold out long when so many make a business of hunting. The quails come right into town of an evening. It seems as though they ought to find opportunities enough to die out in the country.

A story as innocent as those was interpreted in the following manner: "There are millions of quail in the

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[25] Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society, *Cherokee-Wild Cattle and Game* (Tahlequah), William Usell, et al, to D. W. Bushyhead, September 23, 1887.

[26] *The Norman Transcript*, November 30, 1889, p. 3.

Territory. One man killed 386 in three days' hunting. They even come into town in the evening." Such stories most likely had the opposite of their intended effect and did their share in attracting hunters and game buyers from outside the Territory.

There were attempts to control the slaughter of game in the Oklahoma Territory. In 1889, reports of the military's watching for violators of the game ordinances circulated from the Oklahoma City and Fort Reno vicinity.[27] Later, in the early 1890's laws were modified to include certain dates when hunting quail would be legal and within season. Legal hunting would take place between September 1 and December 31 of each year, and any person who had illegal game in his possession was subject to a fine of from five to fifty dollars for each offense.[28] An 1893 editorial in *The Norman Transcript* demonstrates the support offered by others:[29]

> Please call the attention of the farmers of Cleveland County to the fact that quails are an enemy of the chinch bug and that every farmer ought to do his best to protect the quails from the shot gun. The quails not only live upon the chinch bug, but they protect the orchards and small fruit from being destroyed by the different kinds of worms and bugs that are on the ground under our small vines and fruit trees. I have often been told that every quail on a farm was worth a silver dollar to the farmer. Put up notices on your farms forbidding the killing of all birds on your place and you will save your farms and orchards from being destroyed by web worms and bugs and ten thousand other pests that ruin your fruit and grain crops. C. McKey.

The efforts of the law and the few bird lovers did not, however, stop the slaughter and sale of quail in the Oklahoma Territory just as they had not in the Indian Territory. In 1894, reports from the Perkins area, appearing in two Territorial newspapers, stated that "Quail are so plentiful in the territory surrounding Perkins that they have become a drug upon the market selling for thirty-five to fifty cents a

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[27] *Ibid.*, December 21, 1889, p. 1.

[28] *Ibid.*, August 8, 1891, p. 4.

[29] *Ibid.*, September 15, 1893, p. 1.

dozen."[30] It is remarkable that such a report as this could be made after five years of unrestricted hunting in the Territory.

Early in 1895, The Territorial Legislature moved to stop the killing of game. A bill was introduced in February and passed in March. The law provided it:[31]

> . . . unlawful for any person to wound, kill, snare or trap, in any manner within the territory any deer, buck, doe, fawn, or antelope, any prairie chickens, any grouse, wren, quail, wild turkey, martin, robin, swallow, turkey buzzard, or any insectivorous birds or to pursue the same with any intent, or to have the same in possession, except it shall be lawful to shoot quail and wild turkey between the 15 day of October and 15 day of February of the following year.

The Law also provided that no one could kill or have possession of any wild turkeys, quail, plover, or dove for any purpose except for his own private use as food. Only days after its passage, arrests were made under the new law. A Rock Island train was stopped near Chickasha and the discovery made that one car contained about 5,000 live quail in transit to St. Louis from the Chickasaw Country. Wardens broke open the boxes containing the live birds and allowed them to escape. For a while, the meadows and fields in that area were "fairly swarmed" with birds.

A few months later, a second law was passed making it a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine of not more than $100, to kill a quail, prairie chicken, or wild turkey in the Oklahoma Territory before November 1. To add incentive to the enforcement of the law, it was provided that half the fine would go to the informant and half to the county in which the arrest was made. Said one optimistic newsman, "This new law will have the effect of replinishing *(sic)* our game reserves and prevent their entire extermination."[32]

A year later there was still no apparent diminishing of the

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[30] *The Edmond Sun-Democrat,* November 9, 1894, p. 6; *The Eagle Gazette,* November 15, 1894, p. 2.

[31] *The Edmond Sun-Democrat,* February 15, 1895, p. 1; also, March 29, 1895, p. 1, and April 5, 1895, p. 1.

[32] *Ibid.,* September 6, 1895, p. 2.

illegal traffic in the wild game. In late October of 1896, the Guthrie authorities found sixty cases of quail in cold storage, but they could find no one who claimed them.[33] And a week later came this story: "There will be trouble in Oklahoma if the hunters don't desist from killing and shipping game out of the territory. Her citizens are indignant over this matter and will prosecute anyone caught violating the game laws."[34] Nevertheless, the next spring, it was reported that numbers of plovers, meadow larks, and turtle doves were being killed during nesting season.

Despite the endless killing of them the quail remained in numbers in the Oklahoma Territory. In 1899, the Territorial Legislature revised the statutes concerning game and fish, increasing the amount of the fines that could be assessed. Still hunters persisted, causing one bitter newsman to write, "It is not lawful at present to kill quail in Oklahoma unless they happen to be hydrophobia quail when a hunter had a right to kill them in self protection."[35]

Despite the law, tons of game were shipped from the Territory each week. Some of the newspapers took up the problem in an attempt to rally the public. Some writers became perhaps overzealous: "In one year not a turkey will gobble, nor a deer raise his antlers, nor a chicken cackle, nor a quail sing and whistle for its mate throughout these forests of Oklahoma if the hunters are to continue scandalous and murderous robbery of our game."[36]

The hunter had another good year in the Oklahoma Territory in 1899. In late November, the territorial game warden, Whit M. Grant, arrested the local agent of the Armor Packing Company of Kansas City for unlawfully shipping

[33] *The El Reno News,* October 30, 1896, p. 4.

[34] *The Edmond Sun-Democrat,* November 6, 1896, p. 4; and September 6, 1895, p. 2.

[35] *The El Reno News,* November 13, 1896, p. 2. See *The Edmond Sun-Democrat,* November 13, 1896, p. 4; and October 29, 1897, p. 1. Also see *ibid.,* July 28, 2899, p. 1, and October 20, 1899, p. 1.

[36] *The Norman Transcript,* November 16, 1899, p. 1.

quail out of the Territory. The agent had loaded some 5,000 birds aboard a railroad car. He entered a plea of guilty and was fined $50 and costs. A week later one newspaper carried a report that "great quantities" of quail had been shipped out of the Territory during November, packed in cases marked "dressed chickens." When the season closed at the end of January, 1900, the hunters counted it a successful season. [37]

Meanwhile, the Indian Territory had also been overrun with hunters, the laws of the Indian nations or the administration of the laws failing to prevent it. In 1896, the Chickasaw and Choctaw Nations revised their game laws. [38] But they were of no avail. Two years later, a news item carried this rather barbed statement: "Feathered game is quite plentiful in the Chickasaw Nation just now. So are the hunters." [39]

The problem was not restricted to the nations of the Civilized Tribes. Late in 1898 Major A. E. Woodson, Acting Indian Agent at Darlington, published an open letter to hunters on the Indian lands under the Darlington Agency. He reminded them that the U.S. Revised Statutes, Section 2137 prohibited hunting on such lands under penalty of forfeiting all guns, ammunition, and equipment, plus a fine of $500. Section 2147 gave the Indian agents the authority to remove all violators of the law by use of military force if necessary. His letter concludes: "The practice of hunting on such lands that has become so common, resulting in the tearing down of fences, the starting of prairie fires and sometimes loss of stock belonging to the Indians, calls for the strict enforcement of these statutes at the hands of the Indian agents." [40]

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[37] *The Edmond Sun-Democrat,* December 1, 1899, p. 2; December 7, 1899, p. 2; and February 8, 1900, p. 6. Also, see *The El Reno News,* November 30, 1899, p. 6.

[38] *The Hennessey Clipper,* October 22, 1896, p. 1.

[39] *The El Reno News,* September 16, 1898, p. 6.

[40] *The Kingfisher Free Press,* December 8, 1898, p. 1.

The agents did send out orders to the Indian police and the U. S. Marshals to arrest any hunters they found. In 1899 the U. S. Agent J. Blair Shoenfelt issued orders from Union Agency to the Indian police to seize all the guns, traps, ammunition, pelts, and game of all those people found hunting in violation of the law and to impound them in the custody of the Indian agents. He informed the hunters that a fine of $500 was to be imposed upon the violators. [41]

As allotment moved closer to a reality, the tribal governments became weaker, and more responsibility for administration of the law fell to the agents. Shoenfelt worked steadily at the prevention of the destruction of game. He ordered the arrest of hunters and the confiscation of their equipment if they did not obtain hunting permits through his office, and during the year of 1901 he directed an all-out effort to stop the hunters.[42] Many newspapers, both in and out of the Territory, supported him. But Shoenfelt's force was "entirely inadequate" to patrol the Territory, and many officials were charged with "winking" at violations of the law.

Hunters from Texas overran the Chickasaw and Choctaw Nations, and throughout the Territory hunting continued with little restriction. In late 1901, Captain J. W. Ellis, chief of the Indian police, captured 433 quail at South McAlster. They were in an express company, consigned to a Chicago firm. In March of 1902, the field Deputy Marshal at Purcell was ordered to confiscate all quail or other game in the possession of local dealers. This was not a welcome event to the game dealers of Purcell, one of the main points from which game was shipped to other parts of the country. The city did an annual business of $40,000 in game. [43]

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[41] *The Vinita Indian Chieftain,* January 4, 1899, p. 1; *The Kingfisher Free Press,* November 23, 1899, p. 6.

[42] *The Cherokee Advocate,* January 5, 1901, p. 1; *The Muskogee Evening Times,* October 8, 1901, p. 1; October 14, 1901, p. 2, and October 21, 1901, p. 3. *The Vinita Chieftain,* October 15, 1901, p. 4.

[43] See *The Muskogee Evening Times,* January 8, 1901, p. 3; May 20, p. 2; June 3, 1901, p. 2; October 7, 1901, p. 2; and October 12,

In 1902 reports showed that 200,000 quail were shipped out of the Territory during the 1901 hunting season. And from this time until after statehood, the commercial hunting of quail continued. Occasional confiscations yielded two or more barrels of quail, and in 1905 a confiscation of 1,000 quail was made at Enid. If conviction for the shipment during a closed season were obtained, the offender could have had fines imposed at a rate of $25 per bird, or a total of $25,000. The birds in Chicago would have brought only $500. Early in 1906 it was reported that "a number of quail" had been shipped out of the Choctaw Nation and that a U. S. Marshal had confiscated at Chickasha 700 live quails consigned to Wichita. And in December, 1906, at Okeene officials confiscated what was considered the largest shipment of contraband quail ever held up in the Territory. The game filled an entire car on the Rock Island Railway. Packed in egg cases were an estimated 20,000 birds. The game had been shipped by the Okeene Produce Company and consigned to Coin and Company of Chicago as a shipment of "dressed" poultry and eggs. The shipper was one Paris Rupert who had been arrested on the same charge at other times. He had, in fact, paid nearly $2,000 in fines the year before.[44] Rupert was to figure prominently later in a significant court case regarding Oklahoma game laws. An interesting sidelight on this story is that during the time the shipment was in a cold storage plant in Enid, where game warden Eugene Watrous had stored the one hundred fifty-five cases of confiscated quail, the watchman he hired removed about five hundred birds and then disappeared. Although this confiscation was a record, the record did not have long to stand.[45]

1901, p. 2; October 8, 1901, p. 1; and October 19, 1901, p. 1; April 20, 1901, p. 2; September 28, 1901, p. 2; September 30, 1901; and October 4, 1901, p. 2; *The Cherokee Advocate,* October 19, 1901, p. 1; *The Stillwater Advance,* December 19, 1901, p. 6; *The Indian Journal* (Eufaula), March 7, 1902, p. 2. *The Muskogee Evening Times,* October 4, 1901, p. 1, says that the banks at Purcell paid out $41,000 for live quail each year.

[44] *The Daily Oklahoman,* September 13, 1902, p. 2; *The Headlight* (Sayre), March 2, 1905, p. 3; *The Muskogee Democrat,* January 11, 1906, p. 5, and February 12, 1906, p. 4. *The Muskogee Times-Democrat,* December 3, 1906, p. 2; *The Mangum Star,* December 6, 1906, p. 1.

[45] *The Mangum Star,* December 13, 1906, p. 1

On January 8, 1908, Deputy State Game Wardens confiscated 7,500 quail at Clinton, arresting F. J. Lyon of Chicago who had been operating in the area since 1906. The Wardens had confiscated some 20,000 birds during the preceding thirty days. And then on January 21, the sheriff at Enid found 20,000 quail packed in egg cases at the Rock Island depot. They were billed out to Chicago, but there was no shipper's name given. Some of the quail were distributed among the poor and the rest sold in Enid and Oklahoma City.[46]

Since railroads served as the primary mode of transporting the shipments of quail, live quail were often confiscated en route in a rather unusual way. Law officers would obtain a good bird dog and wait at the railway stations for trains to arrive. When the train stopped, the dog would be allowed to scent the express cars. On one occasion, three thousand birds were being shipped from Okeene to a commission house in Chicago. Expecting such a shipment, officers put a dog on board the train, where he immediately went on "point," indicating the presence of quail. Six barrels of dressed turkeys were near the door, and the quail were packed in egg cases in a refrigerator car. Of course, since quail hunting was such a big business, shippers tried all manner of smuggling the game out of the Territories, including shipping them in coffins. Usually, the officers with dogs could stop such shipments if they had any suspicion that such shipments were about to take place.[47]

It was some thirty years after the first game legislation was passed in the Territories that the Oklahoma law forbidding the shipment of slaughtered wild game out of the state was upheld by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. In a decision at St. Louis, the Court affirmed the conviction of Paris Rupert, convicted on four counts of

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[46] *The Muskogee Times-Democrat,* January 8, 1908, p. 5; and January 21, 1908, p. 6.

[47] Eugene Watrous, *Indian-Pioneer History,* Vol. LXXV, p. 128 (Watrous was an early game warden in the Oklahoma Territory). *Ibid.,* Vol. XVI, p. 120.

shipping 12,000 quail from Blaine County, Oklahoma, to Chicago in 1905 and fined him $100 on each count. The case was a celebrated one and had much greater importance than the amount of the fine involved. It was generally understood that brokers and commission men handling such commodities joined in the fight in order to get a settlement of the question involved: the right of a state to interfere with the interstate commerce to the extent of refusing to allow game to be shipped out of the Territory. The Court of Appeals concluded in the Rupert case: [48]

> The territory of Oklahoma had the authority to provide by legislation as it did, that wild game such as quail, should not be shipped out of the state even though the game was killed during the open season. The act of Congress is valid where in it is declared that the shipment out of the territory in violation of the territory laws constitutes a crime under the national laws; and to aid in the detection of such crimes, congress had the authority to provide that all such interstate shipments should be plainly marked so any person by a casual inspection would know the contents of the package.

This case reflected the change in attitude toward game laws which had begun with statehood. With statehood had come more effective legislation. A State Game and Fish Warden's office was established, but it was hampered during its first few years by a small budget. Laws were passed requiring hunting licenses or permits which could be purchased from the county clerks or the state game and fish warden. In 1913 The Oklahoma state laws were bolstered by a federal law, the McLean Act, which became effective on October 1, after which it took "precedence over all state laws for the protection of game." [49]

Fortunately, the State of Oklahoma finally had adequate laws and effective enforcement for protection of quail and other game birds. Perhaps more fortunate for the quail was his size and feeding habits. As his ranks thinned and he became wary, he was hunted with the gun. His speed and size made him a difficult target. Because of his feeding habits, he

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[48] *The Daily Oklahoman,* April 14, 1910, p. 20.

[49] *Vinita Weekly Chieftain,* August 14, 1901, p. 8; *The Indian Journal* (Eufaula), September 19, 1913, p. 5.

was able to live alongside of man as the latter followed his agricultural pursuits, and the little bird could survive on the seeds of the domestic grasses that replaced the wild ones. Unlike the passenger pigeon, he did not depend on the great forests (particularly the beech forests) for mast. When the forests were gone, the quail, unlike the passenger pigeon, did not become extinct. Neither did he need the deep reaches of the forest for cover as did the wild turkey, which became nearly extinct. Nevertheless, the quail in Oklahoma history occupies the same unfortunate position as the pigeon, the turkey, and other game: a part of the earth's bounty abused by thoughtless, and very often greedy, men.

THE CHICKASAW QUEEN: IN WILLIAM FAULKNER'S STORY

By Elmo Howell

On Highway 15, just south of New Albany, Mississippi, the State Historical Commission has placed a marker commemorating King Ishtehotopah, the last of the Chickasaw kings, who led his people to their new home in the West. To the traveller along this road, the marker is a startling reminder of what perhaps he never gave a conscious thought to, that all the country of North Mississippi, and beyond, only a few generations ago presented an order of life in total variance to his own, which disappeared overnight in the arbitrary removal of a whole race. To the south, the Choctaw Nation suffered the same displacement, but some Choctaws remained behind so that today in Louisiana and South Mississippi there are still living reminders of the past. In the Chickasaw country there is nothing but dim legend and broken arrowheads and the solitary marker in what once was the heart of the Nation, reminding the traveller that the nearby branch, King's Creek, was named in honor of the last king of this people.

In the town of New Albany, only a stone's throw away from the site of Ishtehotopah's home, William Faulkner was born in 1898, long after the last Chickasaws had gone. Faulkner, the literary chronicler of the Chickasaws, had no direct experience with Indian life. He seems to have been in possession, often in jumbled form, of what fact remains from prehistoric days, but his fiction is the product of fancy with only a tenuous relation to fact. And yet it suggests a haunting approximation to truth. Whether or not the Indians lived like the characters of his imagination, one feels that Faulkner had not violated the spirit of Chickasaw history, which after all was his first concern: [1]

. . . and the mules which drew the wagon in which, seated in a rocking chair beneath a French parasol held by a Negro slave girl, old Mohataha

[1] William Faulkner, *Requiem for a Nun* (New York, 1951), pp. 216-217.

would come to town on Saturdays, (and came that last time to set her capital X on the paper which ratified the dispossession of her people forever) coming in the wagon that time too, barefoot as always but in the purple silk dress which her son, Ikkemotubbe, had brought her back from France, and a hat crowned with the royal-colored plume of a queen, beneath the slave-held parasol still and with another female slave child squatting on her other side holding the crusted slippers which she had never been able to get her feet into, and in the back of the wagon the petty rest of the unmarked Empire flotsam her son had brought to her which was small enough to be moved; driving for the last time out of the woods into the dusty widening before Ratcliffe's store where the Federal land agent and his marshal waited for her with the paper, and stopped the mules and sat for a little time, the young men of her bodyguard squatting quietly about the halted wagon after the eight-mile walk, while from the gallery of the store and of Holston's tavern the settlement — the Ratcliffes and Compsons and Peabodys and Pettigrews. . .looked on, watched: the inscrutable ageless wrinkled face, the fat shapeless body dressed in the cast-off garments of a French queen, which on her looked like the Sunday costume of the madam of a rich Natchez or New Orleans brothel, sitting in a battered wagon inside a squatting ring of her household troops, her young men dressed in their Sunday clothes for traveling too: then she said, "Where is this Indian territory?" And they told her: West. "Turn the mules west," she said, and someone did so, and she took the pen from the agent and made her X on the paper and handed the pen back and the wagon moved, the young men rising too, and she vanished so across that summer afternoon to that terrific and infinitesimal creak and creep of ungreased wheels, herself immobile beneath the rigid parasol, grotesque and regal, bizarre and moribund, like obsolescence's self riding off the stage enthroned on its own obsolete cataflaque, looking not once back, not once back toward home. . .

In this scene, Faulkner presents the tragedy of the Indians, focused for the moment in an old queen. In her tawdry splendor, Mohataha asserts the dignity of her race, but to what extent the Chickasaws expressed the admiration of their royal masters which Faulkner suggests is not clear. The institution of monarchy seems to have been ambiguously defined among the American Indians, whenever indeed it existed. John Smith called Powhatan a king and Pocahontas a princess, perhaps in conformity with the ideas of kingship in contemporary Europe, though Powhatan seems to have had the power at least of an absolute ruler.[2] The Natchez Indians, who occupied what is now part of Louisiana and south Mississippi, came closer to the European idea, not only in the

[2] John R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin No. 137 (New York, 1969), p. 642.

power and grandeur of their "king," but in the religious associations with the office. The Great Chief, or Sun King, was brother to the sun and every morning welcomed his brother on the horizon and pointed out his path through the heavens. Moreover, the Natchez were a caste society, of nobility and "stinkards," or rabble, who even spoke a different dialect.[3]

Among the Muskhogean tribes — the Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles — the king seems to have had little if any divine association nor anything like despotic power. Government was more relaxed, with the real power resting with a war chief, or perhaps a council of chiefs, whose position was often earned by personal prowess or wisdom, like Tishomingo of the Chickasaws or Pushmataha of the Choctaws. The king was a supernumerary figure who merely gave assent to what was done and enjoyed a certain prestige by virtue of his office. However, among the Chickasaws the monarchy seems to have achieved a certain definiteness as a part of the governing process by the time it was abolished, after the Nation had moved to the West. Unfortunately, though, little has been preserved from tribal days, and only a few of the royal personages are remembered by name.

The office of the king, or "minko," seems not to have been a native development but rather an imposition of the British, the traditional friends and allies of the Chickasaws. Cushman says that the kings of the Choctaws, about whom even less is known, were appointed by the French and later the British; and the Englishman James Adair, after spending close to a year with the Chickasaws in 1744-1745, says that "no such titles or persons as emperors, or kings" existed among them, nor was there 'an appellative" for such in their dialects. "Their highest title, either in military or civil life, signifies only chieftan." Moreover, the power of their chiefs is "an empty sound" since they can merely persuade or

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[3] John R. Swanton, *Indian Tribes of the Lower Mississippi Valley*, American Ethnology Bulletin No. 43 (Washington, 1911), pp. 104-105. See also Fr. Mathurin Le Petit, *The Natchez Massacre* (New Orleans, 1950), pp. 2-7.

dissuade the people, rather than command them.[4] After the Chickasaws' defeat of the French at the Battle of Ackia in 1736 (with British advisors in their camp), their relations with the British were closer than ever; and within the next half century the royal office was adopted, patterned after the British constitutional monarchy. At the end of the eighteenth century, William Bartram, writing generally of the Muskhogean peoples, said the office of king was elective, although it was sometimes obtained by craft or bribery. At any rate, it carried little power, since the king merely filled the ceremonial role of receiving strangers and had "disposal of the public granary."[5] In 1805, the Virginian Dr. Rush Nutt, travelling across the Chickasaw Nation on his way to Natchez, wrote in his journal that the Chickasaws were governed by a king and council, though the king was "merely nominal, having no coercive powers." Dr. Nutt also noted, in line with European influence, a discontinuance in the use of paint, a wide intermarriage with the whites, and a general "falling off from old ways."[6] Thus, though the institution of royalty adds a picturesque touch to Chickasaw history, it seems to have been associated with the days of decline, after the Indians came under the dominance of the whites.

King Ishtehotopah has a secure place in the history of his people — and of the American nation — since he was first to give formal assent to removal to the West. Only a few of his predecessors are known, however. Dr. Nutt recorded that the time of his visit in 1805 the king was Chinnumbee, "an old weak well-meaning man," who had nothing more than the name of king without power.[7] The immediate predecessor of Ishtehotopah seems to have been Tushkaapela, since Tushkaapela's wife was still living in 1832 and was mentioned

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[4] James Adair, *The History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), p. 428.

[5] William Bartram, *Travels Through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida* (London, 1792), pp. 493-494.

[6] Jesse D. Jennings, ed., "Nutt's Trip to the Chickasaw Country," *Journal of Mississippi History,* IX (January, 1947), 46.

[7] *Ibid.,* p. 47.

in the Treaty of Pontotoc Creek. Tushkaapela was mentioned by Cushman as "a former Chickasaw king," who was made invalid for life by an accident, "which rendered him unable to walk in an upright position, but slowly crawled about by means of a buck's horn in each hand extended behind him."[8]

As for Ishtehotopah, little is definitely known about him except in connection with the Removal. According to a missionary's report, he was chosen king in 1820, at the Council House near what is now Pontotoc, Mississippi, although the real rulers, he adds, were the celebrated Colbert brothers.[9] Cushman describes the part Ishtehotopah played at the ceremony of the signing of the Treaty of Pontotoc Creek: "Ishtehotopa, the King, first walked up with a countenance that betokened the emotions of one about to sign his country's death warrant, and with a sad heart and trembling hand made his mark." It was after his death, says Cushman, in 1840, that the republican form of government was introduced.[10]

The fragmentary nature of the records, as well as the lingering legends, suited William Faulkner's artistic needs. With only a few details to work from, he created his own Chickasaw compound in the wilderness, which, however inaccurate in detail, conveys to the modern reader the spirit of authenticity. The memorable scene of Queen Mohataha turning towards the west in a creaking wagon with her Negro slave girl and faithful retinue of young braves may have developed from an historical note concerning an actual Chickasaw queen in the Treaty of Pontotoc Creek. In Article XII of the treaty, recognition is made of two honorable

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[8] H. B. Cushman, *History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Natchez Indians* (Greenville, Tex., 1899), p. 404.

[9] E. T. Winston, *"Father" Stuart and the Monroe Mission* (Meridian, Miss., n. d.), p. 20.

[10] Cushman, p. 429. For succinct accounts of Chickasaw history after the Removal, see Muriel H. Wright, "Brief Outline of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations in Indian Territory, 1820-1860," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* VII (Dec., 1929); and Stephen Steacy, "The Chickasaw Nation on the Eve of the Civil War," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* XLIX (Spring, 1971).

members of the Nation: Tishomingo, the great chief, "who is now grown old and is poor and not able to live in that comfort which his valuable life and great merit deserve," who was awarded a pension of one hundred dollars a year; and of Queen Puccaulla,[11] (not the queen of Ishtehotopah but of the earlier king Tushkaapela): "Our old and beloved Queen, Puccaulla, is now very old and very poor. Justice says the Nation ought not to let her suffer in her old age; it is therefore determined to give her out of the national funds fifty dollars a year."[12]

Whether the Chickasaws were led to their home in the West by a king or a queen or indeed by someone of less stature is a matter for the historian, but not for Faulkner, whose aim is not facts but the spirit behind a great national event. In 1831, Alexis de Tocqueville stood on the bank of the Mississippi "at a place named by Europeans Memphis" and watched the Choctaws enter the river in the bitter cold on their way to the new country. "Never will that solemn spectacle fade from my remembrance. No cry, no sob, was heard among the assembled crowd; all were silent."[13] In Queen Mohataha, William Faulkner dramatizes the tragedy of the Chickasaws as they in turn gave up the land of their fathers and turned their wagons to the west, "looking not once back, not once back toward home."

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[11] Some confusion exists concerning the name. — H. F. O'Beirne says that the name signifies "Hanging Grapes" *(Leaders and Leading Men of the Indian Territory,* Chicago, 1891, p. 209); but Cushman says the name of "Puccaulla" is a white corruption of the Chickasaw "Pakarli," which means "blossom" (Cushman, p. 404).

[12] A. Hutchinson, *Code of Mississippi, Being an Analytical Compilation of the Public and General Statues of the Territory and State* (Jackson, 1848), p. 132.

[13] Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (New York, 1946), p. 340.

DISCRIMINATION AND STATEHOOD IN OKLAHOMA

By Philip Mellinger*

Two Western "frontier"territories were transformed into a racially "Southern" state when the Indian and Oklahoma Territories became Oklahoma in 1907. The new state had restricted suffrage, segregated railways, and the infinite variety of other segregated facilities which usually characterized states in the Deep South. The development of the "Jim Crow South," the closed Western frontier, and the continuation of Western agrarian radicalism, as well as the presence of American Indians, labor unions, large corporations, and Negroes from several regions critically affected the new State of Oklahoma in 1907. Its Southern racism, Western style, was not a peculiar occurrence, but rather the logical result of a collision of these Western and Southern historical elements in "Progressive Era" Oklahoma.

What caused racial discrimination in Oklahoma? A dissertation by Arthur Tolson, entitled "The Negro in Oklahoma Territory," provides a familiar explanation. According to Tolson, "Southern whites had entered the territory and were introducing racial hate into the new land."[1] An "introduction" of "racial hate" has too often been employed to explain the behavior of large groups of people. This sort of pseudo-explanation is counter-productive—it actually impedes understanding of state and regional character development, which procedes from far more complex causes. The present study considers the basic determinants of Oklahoma's racism, as it was expressed in the racially discriminatory legislation Oklahoma enacted when it became a state. It is here proposed that a blend of social, economic, and political factors, which were

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1 Arthur Lincoln Tolson, "The Negro in Oklahoma Territory, 1889-1907: A Study in Racial Discrimination" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Dept. of History, University of Oklahoma, 1966), p. 109.

to some extent root causes of Tolson's "racial hate," provide the best explanation for Oklahoma's racial discrimination.

Oklahoma in the Grano-Mississippi region was settled with the Five Civilized Tribes of American Indians beginning in the 1820's. The Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles under pressure by avaricious whites on the frontier gave up their old homelands in the Southeastern states, and migrated west to Oklahoma, then called the "Indian Territory." After the Civil War, the Plains Indians fought for the lands assigned them by the United States until they too, were forced to accept reservations in high, short grass country of western Oklahoma, which later (in 1890) was organized as Oklahoma Territory.

The Five Civilized Tribes were familiar with Negro slavery. Many of the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws kept slaves, whose status was generally similar to that of slaves in Southern white society. The other two tribes had formerly assisted the Negro slaves escape from Spanish settlements in Florida and eventually treated them on a socially equal basis.[2]

In 1866, the United States government made new treaties with the Indian tribes that had supported the Confederate States in the late War, and deprived them of their western Indian Territory lands in the process. The new treaties made with the civilized tribes endeavored to assure the Indians' freedmen of rights in the land. Thus some of the Indians were forced to subscribe to the principle, which might have very appropriately been applied to white plantation owners, that slaveholding Indian groups had to supply land allotments to their slaves. Land and freedom were given the blacks in Oklahoma quite unevenly and gradually. Virtual slavery was still frequent, especially among the Chickasaws, for several years after the Civil War. Eventually, many freed Negroes received allotments. They tended to take their allotments and

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2 Wyatt F. Jeltz, "Negroes and Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians,"*Journal of Negro History* Vol. XXXIII (January, 1948), pp. 30-31.

settle near one another. Many of them concentrated in the Creek Nation in the central portion of eastern Oklahoma.[3]

Whites began coming to western Oklahoma in the 1870's and 1880's. They leased land for cattle raising from the reservation Indians, and built semi-permanent improvements.[4] In the 1880's large numbers of whites and some blacks, mostly Northerners in both cases, began agitating for the opening of western Oklahoma to homesteading, small farmers. The United States government eventually sanctioned the first great opening of land in the central part of what was to become Oklahoma, and perhaps fifty thousand people made the run into "Oklahoma District" on April 22, 1889. These were fiercely competitive pioneer homesteaders, initially imbued not with a Turnerian sense of cooperative democracy, but rather with a desire to outdo one another in Oklahoma. Oklahoma, though it was partly "frontier" in a general sense, was not a boundless expanse of free land, but was limited in extent. The 1889 "run," which began at noon on April twenty-second, was over by the evening of the same day, with nearly every homestead claim (160 acre tract) taken.[5] Strife between blacks and whites in the Oklahoma and Indian Territories began immediately after the 1889 run, and this article presents the hypothesis that the same greedy competitive spirit which accelerated Oklahoma and Indian Territories toward statehood caused the anti-Negro discrimination which developed in them.

Negroes Boost Oklahoma

Negroes were interested in Oklahoma homesteads nearly a decade before the Boomers' Rush in 1889. The Oklahoma

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[3] *Ibid.;* Nathaniel Jason Washington, *Historical Development of the Negro in Oklahoma* (Tulsa: Dexter Publishing Company, 1948), 10; *Muskogee Cimeter,* December 22, 1904, p. 1.

[4] Tolson, *op. cit.,* p. 7.

[5] *Ibid.,* 8; Arrell M. Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries* Norman: Harlow Publishing Corporation, 1965), pp. 287-96.

District had previously been set aside on a tentative basis by the U.S. government as a home for the Indians' freedmen, and James Milton Turner of Missouri and Hannibal C. Carter of Illinois tried to convert it into a national resettlement homeland for all freed slaves. By 1881, several Negro leaders were planning for the potential resettlement of twenty or thirty thousand freedmen in Oklahoma.[6] The inundation of the Oklahoma District by large numbers of homesteaders, most of whom were white, probably discouraged the early resettlement planners. After April, 1889, a kind of conventional boosting for Oklahoma developed among Oklahoma Negroes.

Beginning in July of 1889, W. L. Eagleson, a Kansas Negro politician sent the word to Negroes in Southern cities:[7]

> There never was a more favorable time than now for you to secure good homes in a land where you will be free and your rights respected. Oklahoma is now open for settlement. The soil is rich, the climate favorable, water abundant and there is plenty of timber. Make a new start. Give yourselves and your children new chances in a new land, where you will be able to think and vote as you please.

By November, an Oklahoma newspaper reported that "Colonies of colored people from Topeka, Kansas, and also from points in the state of Georgia, are settling in the vicinity of Kingfisher, Oklahoma, at a rapid rate. . . ." [8]

E. P. McCabe, a former Kansas state auditor, acquired a 320 acre tract near Guthrie, Oklahoma, which became the town of Langston about 1892. Several of the new community's leaders experimented successfully with cotton raising near the townsite, and then they secured financing for a cotton crop from the Guthrie white community.[9] McCabe then embarked on an ambitious adventure in state-building,

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[6] Tolson, *op. cit., pp. 2-3*

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[9] G. W. Ogden, "The Newest Land of Promiso," *Everybody's Magazine,* XVII (November, 1907), p. 658.

using Langston as a nucleus. He encouraged the immigration of Negroes "in such numbers that eventually they would outnumber the whites." In 1892 he went so far as to predict that within a few years Congress would have two Negro senators from Oklahoma.[10] He planned to organize Negro settlers so that he could muster "a majority of black voters in each representative and senatorial district of the proposed state. His tactic was to house one of his managers in every cabin or house that became vacant in the Territory.[11] He hoped to be appointed governor, or perhaps secretary of the Oklahoma Territory, which in turn might further contribute to its becoming a Negro-controlled state.[12]

The Negro pioneer homesteaders probably answered McCabes's call for several important reasons. Eugene S. Richards, in a census-derived study of Oklahoma's black population, did not identify any special age or sex characteristics among the black pioneer group, and Arthur Tolson, in his study on "The Negro in Oklahoma Territory," hypothesized that the pioneers came "to escape racial discrimination."[13] However, Mozell Hill's interpretation in his "All-Negro Society in Oklahoma" is also convincing. It is that "The Negroes who had a hand in the establishment of these communities were preoccupied with pioneer ideals. They were a dissatisfied and restless people who had a yearning for conquering the wilderness in order to shape a new society."[14] Oklahoma was attracting black settlers with conventional American pioneering aspirations. At a minimum, they would be free farmers, in contrast to their typically dependent status in the Deep South agriculture of that era, just as the white settlers would be free farmers. They

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10 Tolson, *op. cit.*, p. iii.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 47.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 46.

13 Eugene S. Richards, "Trends of Negro Life in Oklahoma as Reflected By Census Reports," *Journal of Negro History*, Vol. XXXIII (January, 1948), p. 50; Tolson, *op. cit.*, p. iii.

14 Mozell C. Hill, "The All-Negro Society in Oklahoma" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Dept. of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1946), p. 30.

would also be struggling to acquire land, to develop it, and to prosper, and because there was a limited amount of it on the late-blooming Oklahoma frontier, they would have to *compete* for land and prosperity against Oklahoma whites.

Negroes were probably 4.1% of the Indian and Oklahoma Territories' population in 1890. Ten years later, they were 7% of the population, or 55,684 people out of a total of 790,391.[15] By 1900, most of the Negroes probably came from Kansas, Missouri, and Texas.[16] In 1906, the Langston *Western Age*, a Negro-owned newspaper, claimed that the black population of Oklahoma Territory had doubled since the last (1900) census.[17] It may have doubled in absolute numbers, but its proportion of the total had not increased. The editor, however, was showing his enthusiasm for continuing growth and vitality in the black community. The average Negro-owned farm in the United States had 31.2 improved acres; the Oklahoma average was 50.3 acres.[18] At least twenty-seven virtually all-Negro towns developed, most of which were created by Negroes.[19]

The *Muskogee Cimeter* was one of several Negro-owned newspapers which was sent, with some difficulty, to subscribers in the South. Editor William H. Twine's stated policy was to encourage emigration from the South to Oklahoma. When he publicized the opening of new Negro-owned stores he wrote that "To visit them is convincing evidence that the negro is abreast the times here, and that expansion has recently struck him. Ere twelve

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15 Tolson has recalculated both the 1890 and the 1900 black population figures, and his estimates are considerably below those in general use. Rather than evaluating Tolson's facility with population statistics, I have chosen to accept his estimate on the rather uncertain early territorial population of 1890, and have used standard U.S. Census figures, as listed in the Eugene Richards article, for 1900, 1910, and 1920. See Table 1 for Richards' population figures. Tolson, 21; Richards, 40.

16 Washington, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

17 *Western Age* (Langston), June 8, 1906. p. 4.

18 Washington, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

19 Tolson, *op. cit.*, p. iii; *Muskogee Cimeter*, October 6, 1904, p. 1. See *Appendix* for table on Negroes as a proportion of the Oklahoma population, p. 378.

months we will be represented in all commercial lines."[20] Twine described his policy as "conservative" and "progressive." When blacks rioted in Boynton, Indian Territory, late in 1904, and at least one was killed by a white, Twine wrote that[21]

> The impression is given abroad that civilizing conditions are not to be found in the Territory, and that a low value is put upon human life. Then the land values of the communities where these negro desperadoes hold forth are certain to depreciate and newcomers will give such places as wide a berth as possible. Finally, in nearly every case, the parents are forced to dispose of property to procure funds to clear the culpurts [*sic*] from the meshes of the law.

Primary interest was in Negro progress through participation in community business prosperity. In a reference to racial antagonisms in 1904, Twine wrote that "It is only occasionally that we meet those things in the beautiful Indian Territory . . . ."[22]

The opportunity for progress through prosperity and the chance to escape racial discrimination were the two drawing attractions promoted by Oklahoma black newspapers. The newspapers emphasized one of the other at random in 1905 and 1906. The Muskogee Cimeter stated:[23]

> The Negroes of the Southland are awake and have started a vast emigration to the beautiful Indian Territory. They are welcome. We need good farmers in this great country. . . . From every point in the South we are getting letters asking about the condition of affairs in the Indian Territory and what kind of farming country this is. Gentlemen it is the best country on earth. Come and see.

Editor Twine also spoke of "a freedom not enjoyed elsewhere in some states" existing in Oklahoma, and he urged the establishment of small businesses, banks, and manufacturing enterprises through the pooling of small investors' resources.[24] He wrote that the new town of Red

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[20] *Muskogee Cimeter,* December 29, 1904, p. 1; *Ibid.,* December 22, 1904, p. 9.

[21] *Ibid.,* December 22, 1904, p. 4.

[22] *Ibid.,* September 15, 1904, p. 1.

[23] *Ibid.,* December 7, 1905, p. 4.

[24] *Ibid.,* July 13, 1905, p. 1; *Ibid.,* January 7, 1905, p. 4.

Bird was flourishing. Kansans were going there, and "every day emigrants from the South are going . . . and all report they are well pleased with the country."[25]

Boley was also popular in 1905, according to the *Boley Progress.* "Preparation has been made for the location of four hundred families in this vicinity this year, and we trust that some of the readers of this paper will be in the number to locate here. Come. Now is the time."[26] The *Progress* spoke of organizing a Negro-controlled county around Boley:[27]

> Boley is the col[o]red town, only one year old, and has between six and eight hundred inhabitants, more than twenty business establishments, including a depot and a Negro operator, a six thousand dollar gin, two saw mills, and a shingle factory . . . there are now about two thousand Negroes already in the district, and the American Colony company will soon land two thousand more, and still five thousand more are expected before the end of the year. Join the number and come to Boley.

The (Guthrie) *Oklahoma Safeguard* suggested that the Western plains in general were hospitable to Negro homesteaders.[28] "Now is the time for you to come before speculators flood the country."[29] Some months later, the *Progress* claimed:[30]

> If you will come out here now and get a good location *before this country gets settled up by the Caucasian race* [emphasis mine] we will be able to demand our rights and they will be respected when this shall come a state. Every Man's vote will count. Every man will be privileged to vote if he desires. Every man will get a trial fair and impartial. No man's life will be ruthlessly taken from him.

The *Muskogee Cimeter* sounded the same vague warning in the following excerpts:[31]

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[25] *Ibid.,* November 23, 1905, p. 1.

[26] *Boley Progress,* March 16, 1905, p. 1.

[27] *Ibid.,* April 6, 1905, p. 1.

[28] *The Oklahoma Safeguard* (Guthrie), February 2, 1905, p. 1.

[29] *Boley Progress,* March 9, 1905, p. 1.

[30] *Ibid.,* September 7, 1905, p. 1.

[31] *Muskogee Cimeter,* March 8, 1906, p. 4; *Ibid.,* August 31, 1905, p. 4.

Now is the time for our people to come and locate in this Territory. Come and buy a home in a free country. If you cant buy 80 acres, buy 40 if not that then 20 if not that then 5 or even one but by all means buy a home. If you don't want a home don't come, we need no drones, we have enough of them now and want the present crop to die out. *White people with a few hundred dollars come here and get a start in life, then why not the black man do the same thing* [italics mine]. Don't wait . . .

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...We advise our people who have been here investigating to get in before its too late. The coming Congress will give us statehood and you should be on the ground in time to help with your vote to shape the constitution of the Grandest State in the American Union.

The *Cimeter* repeatedly alluded to a sort of unannounced race between whites and blacks for Indian Territory land. It announced what would surely be one of the last new land "openings," to take place in the "Big Pasture" country, in Kiowa and Comanche counties, in 1906. About 3,000 160-acre tracts were to go on the auction block. The Curtis Bill was also in Congress in 1906, and it would provide more Indian allotment lands for public sale.[32] Despite the apparent prospects afforded by these newly available lands, there was no jubilation in the Negro press. Instead, from late 1906 on there was retrenchment. The Oklahoma Negro Protective League was organized in 1906. The League asked that Negroes be given control of their own separate educational facilities, that they be given political and civil equal rights, that they get allotment legislation to favor freedmen of Choctaws and Chickasaws, and that Negroes educate themselves, participate politically, and encourage commercial enterprises.[33] In 1907, what boosterism there was had become very guardedly optimistic:[34]

The black man's burden is a heavy one everywhere on earth and the new state is no exception to the rule yet we think it is lighter here than elsewhere in our country. The part of the new state known as Indian Territory offers greater inducements to the industrious people of our race than any other place on earth.

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32 *Ibid.*, March 1, 1906, p. 6; *Ibid.*, March 22, 1906, p. 7.

33 *Ibid.*, September 13, 1906, p. 1.

34 *Ibid.*, October 11, 1907, p. 4; *Ibid.*, November 22, 1907, p. 1.

All things considered, Oklahoma today is the very best state in the Union for our people and we invite them to come in spite of the threats of some people who desire us to go elsewhere. Lovers of right and fair play are still in the majority regardless of party affiliations and GOD IS NOT DEAD. There is work here for us to do and no one but a coward will shirk his duty.

Boosting efforts by black businessmen, which had assumed a sense of urgency by 1904, now disappeared almost entirely. Negroes were responding to the threatening atmosphere that was developing in the territories before statehood.

Negro Settlement Graves In Oklahoma

Negro boosting in Oklahoma achieved impressive results. The black population of Oklahoma continued to grow until statehood in 1907. The 1906 black population, as the *Western Age* had observed, may have been double that of 1900.[35] The 1910 black population was two-and-one-half times that of 1900, and blacks had gone from 7% to 8.3% of all the people in Oklahoma.[36] While this was not an overwhelming increase, it probably indicated to people of both races that blacks were at least maintaining, and possibly improving their relative demographic position. As was previously mentioned, Oklahoma Negroes owned fairly large farms. They controlled whole towns. Their aggregate property interests must have seemed generally impressive to all Oklahomans. The *Western Age* claimed that 85% of Oklahoma Negroes were property owners and taxpayers, and that Negroes owned 3,000,000 acres of Oklahoma land.[37]

For a few years, Oklahoma was a major cotton-producing state. In about 1900, Ardmore, Oklahoma was the largest raw cotton market in the United States. A 1906 editorial in the *Outlook* magazine explained that "As a cotton-producer, the

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[35] See footnote 16, p. 6, above.

[36] See Table 1.

[37] *Western Age,* May 24, 1907, p. 2; *Ibid.,* May 3, 1907, p. 2.

new State has a large and increasing negro population."[38] But most of the farmers in Oklahoma, white and black, had not immigrated there to participate in plantation agriculture—they were pre-eminently small farmers. There was no demonstrated general interest on the part of the whites in developing plantations with their accompanying land tenure arrangements, and certainly the blacks were not coming to Oklahoma in response to a call for plantation labor. But the notion persisted that the blacks "belonged" to nonexistent plantation areas of Oklahoma, away from small white farmers, and away from the towns, where they might compete directly with the whites.

Eugene S. Richards' demographic study of Oklahoma Negroes indicates that they were behaving in a manner directly contrary to the hopes and expectations of the whites. Past 1900, large numbers of Negroes began moving from the South and East sections to the interior part of the state. They left farming and the Oklahoma coal mines, and took urban service jobs. The average value of their farms decreased very rapidly, indicating, among other things, that some of the most vigorous of the black farmers had probably gone to urban areas.[39] Black home ownership in urban areas increased 148.9% between 1900 and 1910.[40] The Negroes' rural-to-urban migration implied that they were "progressing" in the then customary American fashion. It also meant that they were causing themselves to be noticed in many parts of Oklahoma, and that they were concentrating in the cities, where the new state's political and economic power was also becoming concentrated. Alfalfa Bill Murray, who was the president of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention and an outstanding representative of what a charitable biographer calls "yeomen farmer" sentiment, expressed many fears about the changing Negro population. Murray said he knew the Negro well. "I appreciate the old

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38 Editorial, "Oklahoma's Constitution," *Outlook,* Vol. 84 (December 1, 1906), p. 802.

39 Richards, 41, 44-48.

40 Washington, p. 48.

time ex-slave, the old darkey (and they are the salt of the race), who comes to me talking softly in that humble spirit which should characterize their actions and dealings with the white man. . . ." Few such Negroes actually lived in Oklahoma, except in the minds of white small farmers. But "the worst Negroes," according to Murray, "were those in the Creek Nation who had been partially assimilated."[41] He was also opposed to the "irresponsible hordes of worthless negroes around our cities and towns."[42]

Murray was clearly afraid of progressive, competitive, nonplantation Negroes, and his attitude was probably typical of that of many rural and small town Oklahoma whites. Even as late as the 1920's, when the blacks had been forced to accept a very thorough-going discriminatory system, and when their proportion of the population was beginning to decrease, "the popular opinion was that Negroes were increasing so rapidly that in time they would be as numerous as the whites."[43] Tolson reports that "an exaggerated fear of Negro control of political affairs, exploited by the Democrats and Lily-white Republicans, began to appear in the territorial capitol at Guthrie, when it became known that several hundred Negro families were on their way to Logan County with the intention of making their homes there."[44] The Oklahoma Negroes saw that the whites were afraid of them, and they could enunciate the reasons for the fear more clearly than could the whites. The Langston *Western Age's* editor wrote during a later struggle against the discriminatory new state constitution that blacks were a "threat" at the polling place because of their solid Republican voting record.[45] Their struggle had been "in the main. . . . a one-sided fight, about 46,000 Negroes pitted against

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41 Keith L. Bryant, *Alfalfa Bill Murray* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), pp. 55-56.

42 Tolson, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

43 Washington, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

44 Tolson, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

45 *Western Age*, June 14, 1907, p. 2.

1,500,000 white people and Indians, nine-tenths of the white people were agreed on one thing, that was to injure the Negro, by adopting a constitution that would *hinder his uplift in the scale of American progress.*"[46]

The Oklahoma black population had never been well accepted by the territories' white community, nor even by the Indians, for that matter. A form of recidivism was operating among the blacks even as early as 1889, and there was a steady outflow of Twin Territories blacks that continued into the 1900's. Thirty Oklahomans were among a group of Liberia-bound emigrants in 1889.[47] Arthur Tolson's study shows evidence of racial discrimination which motivated some emigration "before, during, and after the [land] openings," and he feels that the early colonization leaders sensed ultimate defeat as far back as 1890.[48] In 1891, it was reported that "The Choctaws are driving the Negroes out of that Nation. Anyone employing a colored servant is subjected to a $50.00 fine."[49] In 1896, "In the southern portion of the Oklahoma Territory, white cappers are running the Negroes out of the country. At Norman, not one Negro remains."[50] The same was true in some western Oklahoma communities.[51]

Incidents occurring after 1900 were even more serious. There was a brief "race war" in Lawton in the spring of 1902:[52]

> Senator Stevens wired Governor Ferguson tonight that the town of Lawton, Comanche County, was in the throes of a race war and asked the executive to have troops in readiness to be sent there. When

[46] *Ibid.*, October 11, 1907, p. 1.

[47] Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

[48] Tolson, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

[49] Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

[50] *Ibid.*

[51] Tolson, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[52] Quoted in Tolson, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-37.

the Kiowa country was opened to settle a large colony of Negroes were located there. Their numbers were augmented in December by emigration agencies in Mississippi and other Southern states, who shipped them by the car load to Lawton. In the recent municipal campaign the preponderance of Lawton Negroes was used as a campaign issue by the Democrats.

The feeling against the Negroes has been tense for weeks. It culminated today in several street fights between blacks and whites. Information which came to the governor from Lawton says the whites are in arms and threaten to drive every Negro out of Lawton before Sunrise before Monday morning [*sic*]. Upon receiving Stevens' message, Governor Ferguson communicated with Colonel Hoffman of the First Regiment and Adjutant General Brulingamo. Company orders were also notified, but no mobilization orders have yet been issued. The governor assured Mr. Stevens he would have peace maintained if all the soldiers in Oklahoma were necessary to enforce it.

This was as serious as racial fighting and community exclusion would get for several more years, and smaller incidents somewhat similar to this one, albeit without gubernatorial intercession, continued to occur throughout the years covered by this study. There were also racially segregated facilities, and of course, racially segregated community living of various sorts dating from at least the 1889 run. Oklahoma Territory passed a local option law on segregated schools as one of its earliest pieces of legislation in 1890. Some few school systems were apparently racially mixed, and some Indian Territory politicians argued against single statehood with Oklahoma Territory because of it--an argument that was based on a deliberate under-representation of the extant race discrimination in Oklahoma Territory.[53] Oklahoma Territory also passed an anti-miscegenation law in 1897.[54]

Negroes continually attempted to define the boundaries of white-black relations in the territories. They repeatedly conceded that there would be "no mixing or social equality" in Oklahoma, particularly in regard to the schools: "The whites won't have it, and the Negroes don't want it."[55] "We are satisfied with our great separate school system" and "we

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[53] *Ibid.*, 103-04; *Muskogee Cimeter,* 1904, p. 1.

[54] Tolson, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

[55] *Muskogee Cimeter,* August 25, 1904, p. 4; *Ibid.*, September 15, 1904, p. 1.

ask no social equality with other races."[56] But the racial separation of their schools was as much as black leadership was willing to concede:[57]

> The Negro is not hankering after attending school with any of these cusses, white or red. All he is asking is his prorata of that $100,000 [for Chickasaw Nation schools] and by the Eternal Gods he will get it. The government of the United States has charge of this money and all citizens will be treated alike. . . . These prejudiced cusses want it all and. . . . they got up the bugbear of mixed schools in order to hide their real intentions. . . . That class of white men. . . pretend they are anxious to attend school with the Indian . . . as soon as they succeed in skinning the Indian they will have no more use for the Indian than they have for any other of the dark races.

There was a vagueness in Oklahoma about how much and what kind of segregation there ought to be. There were already all-black and all-white neighborhoods in Muskogee in 1904, and so some whites wanted two segregated fire companies created, a suggestion which met with a little black resistance.[58] The placing of separate black and white water barrels on Muskogee's streets had been contested by blacks, and they also objected to segregated public toilets.[59] Blacks were advised to "stay away from the [new and segregated] steam merry-go-round and avoid trouble."[60] A performance of Thomas Dixon's *The Clansman* was kept out of Muskogee in 1907.[61] Railway passenger segregation was an especially bitter issue. In 1904, W. H. Twine of the *Muskogee Cimeter* wrote "Separate coach [*sic*] don't go here yet, brother, if you need one we advise you to migrate to the twin hell, Arkansas or Texas."[62] Eventually there would be separate coaches, and quite a bit more besides, but despite the extant segregation, Negroes could still describe Oklahoma as "this land of homes and freedom" in 1905.[63]

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56 *Western Age,* August 15, 1907, p. 2.

57 *Muskogee Cimeter,* September 15, 1904, p. 4.

58 *Ibid.,* June 16, 1904, p. 9.

59 *Ibid.,* August 18, 1904, p. 4.

60 *Ibid.,* September 1, 1904, p. 4.

61 *Western Age,* May 31, 1907, p. 1.

62 *Muskogee Cimeter,* June 2, 1904, p. 4.

63 *Western Age,* December 8, 1905, p. 2.

The most dangerous element in white-black relations was violence. Oklahoma black newspapers were extremely careful in their treatment of violent incidents, and before 1907, they were apparently proud of the general absence of lynchings there. In referring to the "Boynton riot" of 1904, Editor Twine reassured *Cimeter* readers that what had taken place was simply a disturbance of the peace and that "a few drunken white and black men raised hell on Christmas Eve in that locality."[64] In February of 1905, an incident occurred which had overtones of lynching. Twine carefully limited its significance, but he also explicitly refused to accept anti-Negro violence as routine behavior, and even asserted the power of Negroes to forcefully resist violence. The incident stemmed from a confused attempt to apprehend a Negro coal thief, Twine said. The thief escaped, and then due to "ignorance, fright and excitement," some law officers and other whites "fired volley after volley into the homes of innocent and unsuspecting Negroes, wounding some seriously, and then they fled in terror." He accused "the devils from Arkansas and Texas and other hell holes" of causing the incident, a tactic he often employed. He concluded that:[65]

> The liberty loving people regardless of race or color will not stand for the kind of oppression here that reconstructed rebels desire. . . . Some of us have made our last move and we propose to stand on this ground where we have our homes and our investments until hell freezes over and then fight the devils on the ice. . . . The Indian Territory is the last stand the Negro of America can make as a pioneer and we propose to let it go down in history that the stand was made here. . . .

The *Cimeter's* editor was willing to express outrage against racial violence, but he did so carefully. In reference to a rape incident, for instance, in which a Negro person was the victim: "The hellish outrage committed by those Arkansas devils ought to be avenged."[66] When eleven-year-old Bessie Jones was raped, Twine drew several conclusions from the ugly affair. Her attacker had been identified as a white man

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64 *Muskogee Cimeter,* December 29, 1904, p. 1.

65 *Ibid.,* February 23, 1905, p. 1.

66 *Ibid.,* September 1, 1904, p. 4.

named Hicks, and he was caught by an all-black crowd led by two prominent black businessmen, who delivered Hicks to white law officers. White officials apparently were slow in acting against Hicks. Twine implied that most of his captors would have lynched Hicks, but that the responsible black leadership prevented the lynching from taking place—a possible object lesson for Oklahoma whites. Twine provided two recent examples of Texas lynchings of blacks for far less cause. He suggested that Bessie Jones' father would have been morally right if he had killed Hicks and then surrendered himself to the U.S. authorities. "Every man should protect the sanctity of his home with his life if need be," Twine wrote. "Buy a gun and learn how to use it. Protect those dependent upon you if you have to kill every d - libertine that breathes."[67]

By 1907, occasional reports of Oklahoma lynchings began to appear in the black newspapers. The Langston *Western Age* discussed one in August of that year. The man who did the lynching was caught and held for murder, and so the *Western Age* concluded that "Oklahoma is not the place for mob violence."[68] Arthur Tolson reported that several incidents occurred in Oklahoma about 1908 which resulted in the lynching by burning of Negroes, but pathetically, and perhaps for the last time, the *Western Age* was asking its readers late in 1907 to "remember that Oklahoma is not a real southern state. . . ."[69]

It was in the arena of partisan politics that the struggle among the competing interest groups came into clearest focus. Blacks were generally assumed to be Republicans. They claimed to be half of the Republican party in Guthrie (the territorial capital) and Logan county.[70] They also claimed to be a majority of the Republicans in the Oklahoma Territory half of the proposed state (which was very unlikely).[71] Even more blacks were expected to vote, and to

67 *Ibid.,* August 17, 1905, pp. 1, 4.
68 *Western Age,* August 8, 1907, p. 2.
69 Tolson, *op. cit.,* pp. 138-39; *Western Age,* October 11, 1907, p. 2.
70 *Ibid.,* April 6, 1906, p. 4.
71 *Ibid.,* June 14, 1907, p. 2.

vote Republican, after congressional legislation enfranchised the freedmen who had formerly belonged to the Indians.[72] The black Republicans were also expecting an increasing increment of white allies in the years before statehood. "Texas and Arkansas have ceased to be the colonizers of the Twin Territories. The Northern states now send most immigrants." Because of this, an Oklahoma made out of both territories would have a fifteen thousand vote G. O. P. Majority, according to the *Muskogee Cimeter's* editor in 1904.[73] Negroes and many Southern-raised whites consistently erred in assuming that there was a fundamental difference in the racial attitudes and voting behavior of Northern and Southern white small farmers because of their sectional backgrounds. One contemporary observer explained that whites from the Indian Territory had special attitudes because "most of them came from the South or from the border states, and thus they had little in common with the 'short-grassers' of Oklahoma Territory, who came from Kansas or other Northern states."[74] Most whites in the Twin Territories, considered together, were actually from the North, although this was probably not generally known at that time.[75] Negroes particularly believed that an alliance with Northern Republicans would enable them to maintain their competitive position in Oklahoma, and the eclipse of Negro hopes and ambitions is generally explained in terms of an almost inexplicable Southern power seizure in 1907. Southern white politicians best understood how to exercise power through the manipulation of racial attitudes, but they were a minority in Oklahoma, and the non-Southern majority helped to elect them in 1907.

There was a terrific white Democratic reaction to the black Republicans' political forecasting. Democrats repeatedly charged that the Republicans were "colonizing"

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72 *Muskogee Cimeter,* June 9, 1904, p. 1.

73 *Ibid.*

74 Amos Maxwell, "The Sequoyah Convention, Part II," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVIII (Autumn, 1950), p. 316.

75 Washington, *op. cit.,* pp. 37-38

the western Oklahoma counties with Negroes.[76] In a 1905 city election, the *Muskogee Democrat* asked all whites to support the ticket because:[77]

> It is a fight for your property interests and the safety of your homes. The damage to property interests in Muskogee, should a colored council be elected, would be irreparable. It would *Kill the City* and set it back in its development ten years, as did the election a couple of years ago at Guthrie, when the government of that city was turned over to the colored element.

Perhaps the most complete exposition of whites' political fears regarding blacks was the statement by gubernatorial candidate Charles N. Haskell before the crucial late summer elections of 1907:[78]

> Declaring that the element of the Republican party in Oklahoma now in control of the organization, has so fostered and petted the negro by favoring mixed schools, opposing separate coaches and appointing numerous members of the race to official positions, has fostered in the negro's breast ideas of social and political equality, and that the election as first state officials of a regime in sympathy with this element would mark Oklahoma as a negro Eldorado. C. N. Haskell, the Democratic Nominee for governor last night urged his hearers to remember the latitude in which they lived and to see to it that Oklahoma is kept a white man's state.
>
> It is a well known fact that the negro will not go in any considerable numbers to any of the Republican states of the North. The Climate is too severe and the work offered is not to his taste, but you once let it be known that there is a state within the cotton growing belt where there is a Republican administration, composed of men who recognize the negro politically, and you may expect an inundation of negroes from Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas and other Southern states. . . . [and Oklahoma] must never bear the blight of negro domination.
>
> The negro is always anxious for preferment, and the excitement and self-gratulation he derives from politics would make him doubly anxious to reach the favored clime where men of his own race are freely recognized by the dominant political party, both in the party counsels and in the distribution of offices. The negroes of the South have their eyes on Oklahoma and have had for years. Here they have seen negroes raised to places of power under carpetbag regimes and the increase in the negro population has been large for several years. If the people of the proposed state, in this first election, put the stamp of approval on the Republican ticket, headed by a man who has appointed negroes to

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76 Tolson, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

77 *Muskogee Democrat,* April 3, 1905, Part II, p. 5.

78 *Guthrie Leader,* August 29, 1907, p. 2.

various offices, and who recognizes the negro as his political ally and equal, it will be interpreted by the negroes of all the surrounding states as an open and cordial invitation to enter and take possession of the good things of the commonwealth.

Oklahoma and Indian Territories had been almost continually Republican-controlled; the national administration appointed their officials and it was usually Republican. Local party organizations were capable of winning elections, and many habitual, rock-ribbed Republicans lived in the territories. However, the Indian and Oklahoma Territories G. O. P. had a considerable history of factional feuding, with each successive territorial governor apparently building his own political organization. Negro Republicans were also divided. In Muskogee, Indian Territory, for instance, there were three city-wide Republican clubs, not including the individual ward clubs. One club was lily-white, a second, which seemed to operate under the sponsorship of the lily-whites, was black, and a third, by far the largest, was integrated. The two segregated organizations were often opposed by the integrated one in city political struggles.[79] The Democrats of Oklahoma and Indian territories, by comparison, were also quite strong, based on the grassroots support of large numbers of Southern-born whites, and they tended to be less troubled by factionalism.

Arthur Tolson traces the political difficulties of Oklahoma Negroes back to the days of the first land opening. Most were Republican, and as early as 1894, they were objecting to mistreatment at the hands of G. O. P. white leadership in Guthrie.[80] The Oklahoma Republican lily-white movement gained strength in the mid-nineties, possibly as a counterweight to the threat posed by a Democrat-Populist combination, and in 1896, Negro Republicans called a separate convention to nominate candidates. Tolson felt that by 1900, "Negroes were gradually losing the support of the Republican Party as its members began to split under the impact of the Democrats' appeal to racial competitiveness."[81]

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[79] *Muskogee Cimeter,* November 17, 1904, p. 4.

[80] Tolson, *op. cit.,* pp. 80-81

[81] *Ibid.,* pp. 84, 90-91

By 1905, the Democrats' appeal was explicit. A campaign story in the *Muskogee Democrat* was headed "They Are Gentlemen and All 'Lily White': A Short Story of the Men Who Compose the Democratic City Ticket . . . Not One is Tainted With the 'Mixed Ticket' Disease." The candidates' campaign biographies showed that eight of them were from the South, four from border states, and only one from the North.[82] When the election was held, the *Muskogee Democrat* urged, "Go and Vote for White Councilmen: The Vote Was Alarmingly Light Up to Three O'Clock: The Future Welfare of Muskogee is at Stake Today."[83] Despite this overtly racist appeal, some Negroes supported the Democrats: "There are some negroes who just left the twin hell a few months ago, who are now assisting the democracy: if that breed of race destroyers continue to come, it will only be a short time until the Territory will be turned over to the unwashed."[84] Was it strange that Negroes were capable of supporting lily-whites? Why were people of both races found in both political parties? Because the major parties were relatively equal in strength, and whites in each were seeking to create a winning coalition, with the blacks representing simply a potentially useful element in the partisan power struggle. The blacks' political predicament was demonstrated repeatedly and with increasing poignancy as Oklahoma moved nearer to statehood.

The Republicans were very successful nationally in the 1904 elections, but won by narrow margins in the Twin Territories. The *Muskogee Cimeter* consequently proclaimed itself to be against "grandstand plays" and "loud clamoring for official recognition," which "will have a seriously deterrent effect and possibly give reason for an alignment of the citizens of the territory upon racial rather than political lines."[85] Then the *Cimeter* went from modesty to self-effacement:[86]

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82 *Muskogee Democrat,* April 1, 1905, Part II, p. 1.

83 *Ibid.,* April 4, 1905, p. 1.

84 *Muskogee Cimeter,* July 14, 1904, p. 1.

85 *Ibid.,* November 17, 1904, p. 9; *ibid.,* December 22, 1904, p. 1.

86 *Ibid.,* December 29, 1904. p. 1.

> We are in a position today to profit wisely by the errors made in our earlier political history, when the question of absolute fitness was overshadowed by our zest in obtaining political recognition. It is unfortunately too true that many negro office holders in carpet bag times were incapable, unfaithful, and dishonest. We cannot afford to have history repeat itself in any of these particulars.

By the April, 1905 city elections, Editor Twine had made a complete shift. It is likely that his self-abnegating plea, which was intended to bring about greater unity within the party, had had the effect or enhancing the power of the lily-whites instead. Twine complained against lily-white pressures, he suggested a single (integrated) Republican club for Muskogee, and he protested that the lily-whites were sabotaging the whole party ticket because five Negroes were included among its fifteen candidates. The Democrats won the April elections, even though Muskogee was usually a safe, Republican town.[87]

The Indian Territory Democratic leaders began a concerted drive to achieve statehood in 1905. They organized the "Sequoyah Constitutional Convention," which wrote a single-state Indian Territory constitution. It had the intended effect of pressuring Congress into allowing either separate or joint statehood for the territories. The two territories differed socially from one another, according to contemporaries. They had about 750,000 people by 1906.[88] Oklahoma Territory, the western portion of the future state, was described as "law abiding" and ninety percent American born. Its people were "nearly a unit in favor of statehood"; it's electoral majority was Republican.[89] It would either dominate or be dominated by the mostly Democratic Indian Territory to the east—it was a toss-up as to which would occur.

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87 *Ibid.*, March 2, 1905, p. 4; *ibid.*, March 9, 1905, p. 4; *ibid.*, January 12, 1905, p. 4; *ibid.*, March 30, 1905, p. 4; *ibid.*, April 6, 1905, p. 1.

88 Grant Foreman, "Oklahoma and the Indian Territory," *Outlook*, Vol. 82 (March 10, 1906), p. 551.

89 J. D. Whelpley, "The Forty-Sixth State," *Harper's Weekly*, Vol. XLV (Aptil 20, 1901), p. 420.

The Republican Party of Oklahoma Territory declared for joint statehood by 1906. and Oklahoma Territory eventually helped choose a clique dominated by Indian Territory Southern whites for the new state government.[90] Indian Territory was possibly a bit less certain that it wanted statehood. The Negroes in Indian Territory were generally against single statehood, because the national Republicans had appointed Negroes to territorial office, and had, to a limited extent, protected them — they could expect very different treatment at the hands of white Democrats.[91] If there was to be statehood, therefore, combined statehood was safer for Negroes, since a combined state might have a Republican Majority.[92] Many whites who held tax-free Indian lands, and many Indians themselves did not want statehood, primarily because of the likelihood that they would be forced to pay taxes. But those who wished for better political representation, who wanted public schools, who resented the local control exercised by some cliques or Southern whites and Indians, or who wanted internal improvements of various sorts, especially for commercial reasons, favored statehood.[93]

The Sequoyah Constitution was overwhelmingly approved by Indian Territory voters on November 7, 1905. They thus demonstrated the extent of their interest in statehood, and at the same time they voted down a joint statehood proposition by a tremendous margin.[94] The national Republican party was determined not to admit another Southern-dominated Democratic state, and so they

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90 Charles Wayne Ellinger, "The Drive for Statehood for Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* XLI (Spring, 1963), p. 37; Bryant, p. 49.

91 *Western Age,* October 17, 1905, p. 2.

92 *Ibid.,* December 8, 1905, p. 1; Maxwell, pp. 316-17.

93 Ellinger, pp. 22-23; Foreman, p. 550; Charles Moreau Harger, "The New Oklahoma," *Independent,* LVII (September 8, 1904), 555; Whelpley, 420.

94 *Muskogee Cimeter,* November 2, 1905, p. 1; Foreman, p. 551. There were 56,179 votes in favor of separate, and 9,073 in favor of joint statehood.

began to intervene in the twin territories' statehood movement. The Republicans wanted single statehood, which, if properly managed could mean a new Republican state.[95] Two major statehood bills were introduced in Congress, both of them by Republicans. The "McGuire Bill" would have allowed a single state of Oklahoma, which would have had considerable latitude in developing its own constitution. The "Hamilton Bill" also postulated a single state of Oklahoma, but imposed several interesting restrictions on its constitution-makers. The most important of these was the directive that they provide for "suffrage of all the citizens without regard to color or previous condition of servitude." The Hamilton Bill was strongly supported by Negroes in both territories and opposed by many Indian Territory whites. It passed, and became the "Oklahoma Enabling Act" on June 16, 1906.[96]

Negroes in the territories knew that they were a "problem" for the Republican Party. They were divided as to which of the two usual "solutions" they wanted the Republicans to adopt in 1906. In Muskogee, William H. Twine asked that no Negro be put on the Republicans' April ticket, lest he obstruct party unity and give the Democrats an issue. The Muskogee Republicans won, overwhelmingly.[97] In Langston, the *Western Age* remarked that "There are ten times more Negroes holding political office in Memphis, Te[n]n., than there is Oklahoma and Indian Territory combined. Why? There are too many thin-skinned white republicans here." There were as many as 1400 Negro votes potentially available to the Republicans in Logan county, and "That number of Negro votes added to the already growing Socialist movement would elect an entire Socialist ticket from top to bottom." The election resulted in Republican defeat, which might have been caused by very light voting among Negroes, and so the *Western Age* argued that if the G.O. P. had treated the Negroes fairly, more of them would have

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[95] *Muskogee Cimeter,* November 9, 1905, p. 4.

[96] *Ibid.,* December 7, 1905, p. 4; *Western Age,* December 8, 1905, p. 1; *Muskogee Cimeter,* December 8, 1904, p. 4.

[97] *Ibid.,* February 15, 1906, p. 4; *Ibid.,* April 5, 1906, p. 1.

voted.[98] Oklahoma Negroes were divided over which time-tested electoral tactic they ought to use in the upcoming statehood struggle. Voluntary abstention from office-seeking would allow them to share in the victory of their white political cohorts, and participation in office-seeking could allow them to retain their principles during defeat.

The election of delegates for a joint statehood constitutional convention, in pursuance of the Oklahoma Enabling Act, was scheduled for November of 1906. Lily-white Republicans apparently took control of the party apparatus in many parts of Indian Territory. A group of Muskogee lily-whites made the following statement of principles:[99]

We, the members of the Republican Press Association of the Third Congressional District declare as follows:

Whereas there is an apparent misunderstanding existing among the voters of the district as to the position of the party on the so-called race question, and,

Whereas the Republican party has DISCHARGED its OBLIGATIONS to the NEGRO in that it gives him full civil rights, equal with every other citizen and still stands for that policy,

Therefore be it resolved by this association that the Republican party of the Third Congressional District is OPPOSED to NEGRO DOMINATION in any sense.

That it stands for separate schools, SEPARATE COACHES and SEPARATE WAITING ROOMS for NEGROES which shall have equal facilities and comforts of those furnished other races.

That it is opposed and WILL USE EVERY MEANS at its command to PREVENT the nomination of Negroes on any elective ticket, seeking the suffrage of the other races.

On this declaration of principle all classes and all nationalities of citizenship are earnestly invited to align themselves with the party of progress and prosperity.

Negroes organized militantly against the lily-white takeover. William Twine wrote: "Every Negro who loves his

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98 *Western Age*, March 9, 1906, p. 4; *Ibid.*, January 26, 1906, p. 4; *Ibid.*, April 6, 1906, p. 4.

99 *Muskogee Cimeter*, September 27, 1906, p. 1.

family will vote against the Lilly white in party caucuses and if necessary, vote against [*sic*] at the polls. The Republican party is treading dangerous grounds when they attempt to nominate these political parasites anywhere and at any time."[100]

In the months before the November constitutional convention delegate election, Negro Republicans all over the Indian Territory bolted party meetings in which railroad segregation and political discrimination were approved.[101] But the lily-whites did not by any means concede the black vote. They desperately sought covert alliances with blacks. They tried to persuade Negro Republicans to sign affidavits stating that at the local party conventions, the whites concerned had *not* voted against the equal provision of public facilities.[102]

The Democrats won the constitutional convention delegates' election, against two Republican tickets in some areas. In Indian Territory, the Democratic candidates received a total of 52,066 votes, and the Republicans, 35,167 votes. In Oklahoma Territory, the Democratic total was 52,510, and the Republican, 40,715.[103] This meant that the Democrats' appeal was nearly as strong among the Northern-born whites of Oklahoma Territory as it was among the Southerners in Indian Territory, to the probable amazement of the national Republican leadership. The Democrats would write the Oklahoma constitution. The *Cimeter* predicted "Jim Crow will now in all probability follow."[104]

Negroes prepared to fight the developing constitution and Oklahoma racism in general. No specific remedy was evident at first, but the Negro Press Association vowed to "organize

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100 *Ibid.*, October 5, 1906, p. 1.

101 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

102 *Ibid.*, October 12, 1906, p. 4.

103 *Ibid.*, November 2, 1906, p. 4; Tolson, 116-17.

104 *Ibid.*, November 9, 1906, p. 1.

the Negro in every township to prepare to defend himself with his ballot against any attac[k] that may be made upon his rights by the coming constitution. . . ."[105] The Negro community temporarily united its political factions and boasted of a solid front against the proposed constitution's growing racism. Negroes were completely ignored at the convention, and apparently they began to look for help in Washington. By February of 1907, Editor Twine claimed to have "a 44-inch injunction gun ready for the cusses if they go crazy and attempt to Jim Crow us."[106]

The constitutional convention's democratic leadership began to indicate its concern about possible intervention from Washington as early as January. They had campaigned against racial equality, and had promised to bring a full complement of Jim Crow legislation to Oklahoma. The *Cimeter* stated:[107]

> During the late campaign, it is said that Haskell [one of the convention leaders] signed an agreement not to vote for or advocate jim crow cars at Guthrie. It is said this agreement is signed by C. N. Haskell and is locked up on a safe in Muskogee.
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> Haskell of course is very anxious to please his Southern sympathisers and supporters and is verry [sic] loud mouthed about jim crow cars and jim crow laws, but that is as far as it wil[l] or does go. . . . It is said the agreement further provided, that Haskell should not vote for any provisions, which would take the ballot away from the colored people.

The Democrats were reportedly "worried" about discriminatory laws. "They promised before the election to give the Negroes h-, and they have done their level best to keep the promise but they dare not put any Jim Crow in the Constitution. The leaders at Washington tell them 'its loaded'. . . ."[108] Charles N. Haskell tried to organize a

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105 *Ibid.*, November 30, 1906, pp. 1, 8.

106 *Ibid.*, December 7, 1906, p. 5; *Ibid.*, February 22, 1907, p. 4; *Ibid.*, November 30, 1906, p. 4; *Ibid.*, January 11, 1907, p. 8; *Ibid.*, February 15, 1907, p. 4.

107 *Ibid.*, January 4, 1907, p. 5.

108 *Ibid.*, January 11, 1907, p. 4.

delegation which would travel to Washington so as to learn if the President would approve a "Jim Crow Constitution." By March, Territorial Governor Frank Franz had "declared positively that President Roosevelt will reject the constitution if it contains a 'Jim Crow' clause."[109] There were even more subtle explanations floating about for the uncertain fate of the Jim Crow laws. One white Republican paper was of the opinion that the Democrats were themselves secretly sabotaging Jim Crow for the purpose of "retaining the negro question to be used against the Republicans in the next campaign."[110] Still another explanation was that the Jim Crow threat was being used as a means of forcing Congress to appropriate additional money to pay for constitutional convention expenses.[111] For one or more of these partisan political considerations, discrimination against Negroes was blunted in the constitution, although it was generally understood that the reprieve was intended to be temporary.

Charles N. Haskell, who along with Robert Williams and William Murray provided the southern white leadership at the convention, was praised by some Oklahoma blacks for having jettisoned Jim Crow legislation:[112]

> We knew Mr. Haskell was our friend. He has shown this through his work in the constitutional convention in turning down the 'Jim Crow' law. . . . He knows he needs us in his campaign and for that reason he taught those Southern Democrats a lesson. Speaking for the negroes of the Third Congressional district, I can say that we are exceedingly proud of Mr. Haskell.

Even though the Negroes who endorsed this encomium failed to recognize an enemy when they saw one, they did recognize the motivation behind Haskell's conversion. He could change from racism to equalitarianism, and they could change from being Republican to being Haskell Democrats.

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109 *Ibid.*, February 1, 1907, p. 4; *Ibid.*, March 1, 1907, p. 1.

110 *Beaver Journal*, February 7, 1907, p. 1.

111 *Muskogee Cimeter*, February 22, 1907, p. 4.

112 *Ibid.*, March 8, 1907, p. 1.

In both instances, the motive was expediency. The Haskell forces wished to remain in control of constitution-making, and thus to retain power in the new state, and the Negroes wished to avoid repressive legislation, regardless of which political faction helped them to do so.

Despite the absence of Jim Crow railroad facilities and suffrage limitations in the proposed new constitution, Negroes were generally not satisfied with the convention's creation. It apparently would permit Jim Crow laws and disfranchisement through ordinary legislative enactment, after Oklahoma would become a state.[113] The constitution specifically guaranteed Indians, but not Negroes, the right to vote. Its explanation of racial terminology, which included everyone except "Africans" in the term "white race," and its stipulations regarding segregated schools implied a special and inferior status for Oklahoma Negroes.[114] One provision reserved the right of the legislature to "make additional limitations on the right of suffrage and . . . add additional disabilities thereto.[115] Furthermore, the convention adopted a C. N. Haskell resolution which expressed "the sense of this body that separate coaches and waiting rooms be required for the Negro race; that we consider this a legislative matter rather than a constitutional question."[116] Editor Twine of the *Cimeter* announced that "the amended patched constitution is worse than the first effort."[117] Negroes in the territories generally began to work for the constitution's defeat in the September referendum-election, either through voting against it, through electing Republicans pledged to amend it, through non-participation, or even through preventing the referendum by means of a federal

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113 *Ibid.*, April 12, 1907, p. 4.

114 *Proposed Constitution of the State of Oklahoma* (Guthrie: April 22, 1907), pp. 10, 53, 85.

115 Grant Foreman, "Statehood for Oklahoma?" *Independent*, LX (August 8, 1907), p. 332.

116 Tolson, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

117 *Muskogee Cimeter*, July 19, 1907, p. 4.

injunction.[118] Lily-whites generally secured an even tighter hold on much of the Republican Party, because of the pressure exerted by the increasingly powerful Democratic organization. Negroes were kept off Republican slates all over Oklahoma, despite their angry demands for inclusion in the political affairs of the coming state. Negroes knew that exclusion in the summer of 1907 was more important than the temporary exclusionist tactic practiced in past years -- this time its effects could be long-lasting.[119]

The national government's attitude toward the extraordinary behavior of the Oklahoma Democratic leadership continued to represent a solid hope for Negroes. The convention had extensively manipulated county boundaries for the benefit of the Democratic Party, and then had included the specific boundary lines in the constitution. Congressman Landis spoke about this at Chickasha, Indian Territory, in June, threatening that if a genuine gerrymander had taken place, President Roosevelt would not issue a proclamation of statehood: "Remember, a republican congress and a republican president gave Oklahoma the opportunity to become a state. We knew it would be democratic, but we expected the democrats to at least play fair, and if it comes to a question of playing politics you must remember that the republican party holds the joker and that they can take the trick."[120]

Roosevelt sent a letter which explained his objections to the president of the Constitutional Convention, William Murray, and Murray arranged for some minor revisions in July, but the issue was still in doubt on election day.[121]

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118 *Ibid.*, May 10, 1907, p. 1; *ibid.*, April 26, 1907, p. 1; *Western Age*, June 7, 1907, p. 2; *ibid.*, August 8, 1907, p. 2; *Muskogee Cimeter*, March 29, 1907, p. 1; *Western Age*, June 7, 1907, p. 2.

119 *Ibid.*, May 3 - July 5, 1907; *Muskogee Cimeter*, July 19 - August 16, 1907.

120 *Western Age*, June 28, 1907, p. 2.

121 Bryant, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

There was no unity or approach among those forces hostile to the constitution as September 17, 1907 approached. Seven injunction suits restraining the calling of an election were still in the courts at the end of July.[122] Charles N. Haskell again made approaches, successfully in some instances, to some Negro groups.[123] Some Negroes tried to join forces with a state-wide prohibition movement which was opposing the constitution.[124] Some planned to sit out the election.[125] The general hopelessness of the situation was expressed by the *Muskogee Cimeter* in mid-August: "The constitution can and must be defeated. Put up as good a vote as possible against it and if then it gets a majority let us go down to the Nation's Capital and show cause why the thing should not be approved."[126]

The constitution, Democratic gubernatorial candidate Charles N. Haskell, and Democratic state legislative candidates all won the election on September 17.[127]

Negroes claimed the election was "stolen" through violence and fraud.[128] They began to appeal to Theodore Roosevelt, and at the same time, they asked all of progressive American society to help them:[129]

> Negroes of the Indian Territory and the new state of Oklahoma appeal to the Negroes and all liberty loving people in the United States to aid in helping them TURN DOWN the constitution of the proposed state of Oklahoma which has just been ratified by the people of the state.

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122 Foreman, "Statehood for Oklahoma?" pp. 334-35.

123 *Western Age*, July 12, 1907, p. 2; *Ibid.*, August 15, 1907, p. 1; *Ibid.*, May 3, 1907, p. 2.

124 *Muskogee Cimeter*, August 30, 1907, p. 4.

125 *Western Age*, August, 1907, *passim.*

126 *Muskogee Cimeter*, August 16, 1907, p. 4.

127 *Western Age*, October 4, 1907, p. 1.

128 *Muskogee Cimeter*, September 20, 1907, p. 1.

129 *Ibid.*, September 27, 1907, p. 4; *Ibid.*, September 20, 1907, p. 1.

We especially appeal to the Negroes of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, West Virginia, New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island to lend us their assistance in defeating a constitution that is not republican in form and one that is contrary to the Enabling Act. Help us to defeat a constitution that lays the foundation for the disfranchising of our people in the new state and for giving us Jim Crow Cars and other class legislation and measures calculated to humiliate and degrade the whole race. It is earnestly asked that every lover of fair play will go to his Congressmen and Senators and interest them in our cause.

President Roosevelt's concern about the Oklahoma political situation was based primarily on considerations of partisan politics. He was most concerned with making Oklahoma a Republican state, and he apparently lost interest after this became unlikely. In 1906, he had written to his Secretary of the Interior about the "damage being done politically by the action of the Interior Department in Oklahoma and Indian Territory, both in the manner of investigation of Governor Frantz, of the attacks on District Attorney Embry, and the feeling by the Indians that they have been treated with harshness by the Department. . . ." And there was the possibility that these actions "will cost us the loss of the delegation in Congress from the new State. . . . I need hardly say that the election of a Democratic House this fall will mean a rebuke to the entire administration." [130]

This was Roosevelt's strongest ascertainable expression of interest in what was happening in Oklahoma. In September of 1907, he was writing to his Attorney General not about the Negroes' problems, but about the gerrymander: "If there is really a bad gerrymander, I think that justifies, and indeed requires, our insistance upon a remodeling of the constitution."[131] The census taken in accord with the President's request indicated that the Oklahoma population was equitably represented, and Roosevelt wrote only ten

130 Letter from President Theodore Roosevelt to Secretary of the Interior Ethan Allen Hitchcock, August 27, 1906 (in Elting E. Morison (ed.), *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952], Vol. V, pp. 386-88).

131 Letter from President Theodore Roosevelt to Attorney General Charles Joseph Bonaparte, September 6, 1907 (in Elting E. Morison (ed.), *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), Vol. V, p. 784.

days after the election that "in spite of certain defects in the constitution of Oklahoma, it would be neither wise nor proper for me to refuse my assent."[132]

The President indicated early in October that he intended to sign the statehood proclamation, but that he would still listen to arguments against doing so.[133] Negroes organized a petition and protest campaign, but at the same time, some quietly expressed the sentiment that, "It would be wise, safe, and good business sense for a respectable number of Negroes of Oklahoma to affiliate with the Democratic Party."[134] Roosevelt signed the statehood bill on November 16, 1907, and the Langston *Western Age* suggested, "Give Gov. Haskell a chance and we believe that he will be able to adjust all seeming race questions in this state in a satisfactor[y] manner to his party and the Negro race."[135]

Segregated Oklahoma schools had long served segregated residential communities, and they had considerable acceptance in the general community. Segregated railway facilities were something entirely different. Facilities which were in close proximity to a community could be expected to serve the community's particular needs, but the railroads provided long-distance transportation for the whole state. They were a symbol of special, and by implication and previous Southern-state example, inferior treatment for Oklahoma Negroes. Arthur Tolson believes that there was a steadily growing interest in segregated facilities and in racial discrimination for Oklahoma, especially after 1900. Jim Crow railway bills had been introduced repeatedly in Oklahoma Territory since 1901, but they had not been

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132 L. J. Abbott, "The 'Zoological Garden of Cranks'," *Independent,* LXIX (October 20, 1910), 871; Letter from President Theodore Roosevelt to David DeCamp Thompson, September 27, 1907 (in Elting E. Morison (ed.), *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), Vol. V, p. 809.

133 *Muskogee Cimeter,* October 4, 1907, p. 1.

134 *Ibid.,* October 11, 1907, p. 4; *Western Age,* October 4, 1907, pp. 1-2.

135 *Ibid.,* November 22, 1907, p. 2.

adopted.[136] In 1905, William Twine sensed the heightened interest in segregation among whites. "Some cusses who do business here are putting in Jim Crow quarters for Negroes [in grocery and dry goods stores]," he reported.[137] Democrats were generally supporting railway segregation in Oklahoma by 1906, and the Langston *Western Age* predicted as early as July, 1907, that the Democrats would soon control the state, and that they would rush to pass "a 'Jim Crow' car law" in the first state legislative session.[138]

The First Legislature's leaders were the same men who had controlled the constitutional convention.[139] The segregated railways bill was the very first legislative enactment of the new state of Oklahoma, becoming law early in December, 1907.[140] Negroes attacked Lieutenant-Governor Bellamy and his party on a train in February, 1908, and in the same month there were violent incidents at Taft, where the Midland Valley depot was burned to the ground, and at Red Bird, where a Missouri-Kansas-Texas train was attacked.[141] The struggle eventually went to the United States Supreme Court, which affirmed the constitutionality of the Jim Crow legislation in November, 1914.[142]

The "grandfather clause" was perhaps the most iniquitous piece of racial legislation enacted by states since the Reconstruction Era. The Oklahoma grandfather clause movement began with the Republican Party's political resurgence in the November, 1908, elections, which was accomplished with strong Negro voting support.[143] Oklahoma whites proposed a rather standard version of the grandfather clause, which potentially enfranchised all persons

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136 Tolson, *op. cit.*, p. 107

137 *Muskogee Cimeter*, May 18, 1905, p. 4.

138 Bryant, p. 47; *Western Age*, July 5, 1907, p. 2.

139 Tolson, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

140 Bryant, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78.

141 Tolson, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-32.

142 *Ibid., op. cit.*, pp. 132-34, 148.

143 *Ibid., op. cit.*, pp. 139-40.

who were able to vote (anywhere) on January 1, 1866, and their descendants, as well as all foreign immigrants, but required a literacy test of all other persons.[144] Some Republicans, the Socialist Party, Negroes, and at least one powerful newspaper, the *Oklahoma City Times*, opposed the grandfather clause.[145] Advocacy of it became an issue in the Democratic gubernatorial primary election of 1910, and Alfalfa Bill Murray apparently lost the nomination to a wealthy Ardmore banker, Lee Cruce, because he failed to support Negro disfranchisement early enough and noisily enough.[146]

Fantastic chicanery was used to pass the grandfather clause. It appears doubtful that the majority of the voters in the August 2, 1910 election actually favored it.:[147]

> The ballot was so arranged that the illiterate or careless voter was sure to be recorded in favor of the adoption of the clause, while only those who took particular pains in their voting could be registered against it. At the bottom of the ballot were printed the words "For the Amendment." If the voter overlooked the referendum, his vote was counted in the affirmative. To vote in the negative the elector had to cross out the words with a lead-pencil. Inasmuch as the Oklahoma voter stamps his ballot with a rubber stamp, lead-pencils are not provided in the booths. Every other referendum in Oklahoma has been submitted, so that the elector could vote "yes" or "no" with his rubber stamp. In this single instance the ballot was so arranged that not only all the electors who neglected the question altogether would be counted for the measure, but it was made as difficult as possible to vote the negative of the proposition at all.

The referendum vote was 135,443 in favor, and 106,222 opposed.[148] The result cannot be accepted as simply an expression of the "will of the people," since it is probable

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144 Editorial, "The Grandfather Clause in Oklahoma," *Outlook*, Vol. 96 (August 20, 1910), p. 853.

145 James Ralph Scales, "The Political History of Oklahoma, 1907-1949" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Dept. of Political Science, University of Oklahoma, 1949), p. 129.

146 Bryant, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95.

147 "The Grandfather Clause in Oklahoma," (August 20, 1910), p. 853.

148 Tolson, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

that many voters were registered in favor through oversight, many through want of a pencil, and many through various possible technical errors. Region of voter origin was apparently not a significant factor in determining voter behavior. The predominantly Republican areas near Kansas voted for it in the same proportion as did other areas, just as they had done in the constitutional convention election of delegates in November, 1906.[149] The Democrats' racially-centered appeal cut across party lines.

The passage of the grandfather clause was followed by violence and litigation, just as the passage of segregated railway legislation had been. Negroes tried to force their way into polling places with guns.[150] The Oklahoma Supreme Court found the grandfather clause constitutional, and the federal courts refused to grant injunctive relief against it.[151] The grandfather clause was ruled contrary to the federal constitution by the U.S. Supreme Court in mid-1915, but Oklahoma then passed a new law giving Negroes an excessively brief period in which to register as electors. Those who tried to register were deliberately inconvenienced in many instances, so that they were unable to vote. Oklahoma's inequitable registration law was not eliminated by judicial edict until 1939, and some of her segregated institutions have lasted much longer.[152]

CONCLUSION

The presence of a proportionately small group of Negroes in the general population did not in itself cause discrimination in Oklahoma, although the fact that the size of the group was increasing probably did. It was the behavior

149 Scales, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

150 Editorial, "The Grandfather Clause in Oklahoma," *Outlook*, (November 26, 1910), pp. 97, 656.

151 *Ibid.*

152 Tolson, 144-51; Editorial, "The Negro as a Political Issue in Oklahoma," *Harlow's Weekly*, 10 (June 3, 1916), pp. 8-9.

of Oklahoma Negroes, rather than their numbers, which elicited the overtly anatagonistic white response. An important group of Oklahoma Negroes were "pioneers." They came to the Oklahoma frontier to secure and develop free public lands. They were followed, in typical American frontier fashion, by a group of venturesome (Negro) businessmen, who promoted community growth and tried to attract immigrants. These businessmen succeeded in developing communities, and encouraging the growth of a vigorous, upward mobile negro population. Oklahoma Negroes owned small farms and then sought urban service occupations, owned property, paid taxes, demanded schools, and reacted indignantly when their opportunity for upward mobility seemed threatened. Oklahoma's Negroes were increasingly visible and vocal, especially when they moved to towns and could organize themselves politically and economically.

When the opportunity for unlimited economic exploitation was over, a region ceased to be "frontier," and Oklahoma was no longer a frontier area by 1900. Oklahoma lands had been occupied by nearly a million people.

As was common with many other American frontiers, Oklahoma's dominant social groups took cognizance of the frontier's passing--they tried to develop a community which would replace the free exploitation of resources with controlled, limited economic development. Competitive, aggressive frontier attitudes seemed dangerous to the leaders of early twentieth century, small-town Oklahoma. Great corporations were beginning to affect Oklahomans. They fought against coal companies, railroads, and oil companies owned by easterners.[153] They began to experience modern urban problems. They struggled against external controls exercised by the national government. Negroes represented

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153 The Standard Oil Company seemed especially threatening. Several oil and coal companies were struggling for mineral rights leases and economic primacy in pre-statehood Oklahoma. Henry S. Brown, "The Indians and Oklahoma," *Outlook*, Vol. 85 (January 19, 1907), p. 118.

only another potentially dangerous force, external to the dominant white community, which the whites felt they had to control in order to survive in the new era of limited opportunities.[154] It was, in fact, *because* some Oklahoma Negroes were so "progressive," so forward-looking, prosperous, urban, and vigorous that they represented such a great threat.

The same number of Negro farm tenants, scattered across the state, might never have been forced to experience the monstrous Oklahoma racial system which both Northern and Southern whites foisted upon them. The ending of the frontier period was a time for defining the nature of community and regulating access to its economy. The creation of a new state out of the former frontier territories still further necessitated definitive limits and rules. As Arthur Tolson has shown, Oklahoma Negroes had never been accepted as a part of the total white-dominated community. They were actually competitive outsiders, and thus a threat to the small-town-minded Oklahoma whites. The whites acted to eliminate the threat. They brought the blacks under "control" by physically segregating them. They took away their "power" by first forcing them to abstain from the decision-making aspects of the political process, and then by eliminating them from the process altogether. Finally, by making the new state into an unpleasant place for progressive Negroes, the whites succeeded in ending large-scale Negro migration into Oklahoma.

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154 Oklahomans tried to control all of these forces. Oklahoma's constitution drew praise from Benjamin Orande Flower in the *Arena* because it is very "progressive." Flower agreed with the Oklahomans that American small property holders were pleased with the defenses that the Oklahoma constitution had raised against machine politics, the power of large out-of-state corporations, railroads, and traction and utilities companies. He made no mention of the constitution's treatment of Negroes. Benjamin O. Flower, "Oklahoma's New Constitution: A Monument to Progressive and Conscientious Statesmanship," *Arena,* Vol. 37 (June, 1907), pp. 642-43.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1

NEGROES AS A PROPORTION OF THE OKLAHOMA POPULATION [a]

Population group	1900	1910	1920
Whole population	790,391	1,657,155	2,028,283
Negroes (number)	55,684	137,612	149,408
Negroes (%)	7.0	8.3	7.4
Whites (%)	81.7	84.8	87.9
Indians (%)	8.2	4.5	....

[a] From statistics provided by Richards, p. 40.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Recognition Honors The Editor

Recognition to the Editor of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Muriel H. Wright brings honor for her in two recent awards. One was presented during the first nationwide convention of the North American Indian Women's Association at Lawton, Oklahoma, June 16, 1971, which cited Dr. Wright "for her preservation of American heritage and encouragement of youth in the field of writing," and further honored her as "the outstanding Indian woman of the 20th Century."

The second, a certificate of appreciation, was presented to Dr. Wright during the banquet program of the Indian Women's Association meeting at Lawton, for "outstanding and dedicated volunteer service to the community and the nation," and was signed by Patricia Nixon, wife of the President of the United States, at the White House, Washington, D. C.

Oklahoma Historic Sites

Many of our readers of the *The Chronicles* are familiar with historic sites in the state of Oklahoma and many have visited these battlefields, forts and buildings on their own or on guided tours. Today, with the increased interest and support in historic sites both nationally and locally, it is of interest to our readers to point up the activities of the Historic Sites Division of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

The enactment of The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 acknowledged the need to preserve symbols of our national heritage. Recent state legislation reflects an awareness of this growing interest in history and the need to identity with the past by supporting sites already established and open to the public and funding monies for the restoration of others.

Seven sites are now open to the public. These are: The

Peter Conser House, 4 miles south and 3 miles west of Heavener; the *Erin Springs Mansion* (or Frank Murray house), 2 miles south of the city of Lindsay; *Homesteader's Sod House*, 5 miles north of Cleo Springs on State Highway No. 8 (21 miles south of Cherokee); *Sequoyah's Log Cabin*, 11 miles northeast of Sallisaw on State Highway No. 101; *Thomas-Foreman Home*, 1419 W. Okmulgee Street, Muskogee; *Fort Washita Restoration*, 11 miles east of Madill on State Highway No. 199; and the *Chickasaw Council House*, located on the Court House grounds in the City of Tishomingo.

There are three sites not officially open to the public as yet and these are: The *Jim Thorpe House* which the Oklahoma Historical Society has restored and is now in the process of collecting furnishings for in keeping with the 1917-1923 period; The *Old Chief's House* near Swink in Choctaw County; and *Fort Towson*, Choctaw County.

Construction has begun on the new museum building in Guthrie and this, along with the Carnegie Library will house the Oklahoma Territorial Museum which thus is several years away before completion.

Heritage Clubs: A New Venture In The Oklahoma Historical Society

The challenge today is education and the Education Department of the Oklahoma Historical Society is meeting this challenge with special programs and services available to visitors. The first historical program is given in the museum of the Historical Society, complete with volunteer guide service, on the subject of the Plains Indians in Oklahoma.

In addition, the Society is acquainting students with research facilities provided by the agency. To this end a slide presentation has been developed which introduces the O.H.S. by departments. Also, a slide lecture of historic sites around the state is available and promotes the meaningful use of state museums.

However, one of the most exciting projects of the O.H.S. is the development of a state-wide, student organization of Oklahoma Heritage Clubs. This program emphasizes local history. Individual groups are members of the state organization which will be headquartered at various historic sites around the state. Local chapters may be formed where there is interest and the O.H.S. Acts as coordinator and consultant.

Student activities include exploration, restoration and volunteer work under the direction of curators and sponsors. A statewide student publication produced annually is carrying on the activities of club members relating to their local history. The first issue of a monthly *Heritage Newsletter* is on the press this September, 1971.

The Oklahoma Historical Society enthusiastically supports these programs and the individuals and groups across the state interested in state and local history.

Papers Of Hezekiah Spencer, Fur Trader 1777—1863

The George Arents Research Library, Syracuse University in New York, announces the collection of papers of Hezekiah Spencer, fur trader (1777—1863) consisting of correspondence and financial and legal records. The bulk of the collection covers the period 1827 to 1862.

The correspondence of approximately 1000 items, 1817—1863, includes incoming letters and copies of some of Spencer's outgoing letters, primarily to fur traders. Correspondence details fur prices and quantities of pelts for each season, problems of transport, marketing prospects, payment of notes and drafts and arrangements for commissions.

Subjects of comment in the correspondence include national and international events which affected the fur trader's market: the possibility of war in Europe, a cholera

epidemic in New York, harsh financial conditions in 1837 under Andrew Jackson, the death of the Turkish sultan and the trapping of sea otter on the California coast in the 1850's.

Trader Spencer conducted his business from Suffolk, Connecticut, securing furs from small dealers and peddlers whom he commissioned to travel into the hinterlands to buy pelts. The furs were then sold to larger dealers in New York for shipment to Europe and China. The papers indicate that Spencer was in competition with John Jacob Astor and the American Fur Company operations in the West (including Oklahoma) during some periods of his career. 5 1/2 boxes.

BOOK REVIEWS

The First American: A Story of North American Archaeology. By C. W. Ceram. (Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, New York, 1971. Pp. 357. Illus. $9.95.)

The reader of this fine book, *The First American*, is impressed by its readability and its presentation. First of all, the author, Mr. C. W. Ceram was a newspaper man for many years. And like a good newspaperman he has scarcely left a stone unturned in pursuit of the answer to the question, who was the first American? It has been said by the author of the book, *Ancient Man in North America*, H. Marie Wormington, that "To find an answer, one must first have sufficient knowledge to formulate the question." Mr. Ceram apparently has the knowledge to formulate the question and to give some valid answers.

Because the image of the Vikings is more glamorous than others, the author begins his search with the Norsemen. Harvard published only this year, 1971, a book (unfortunately released on Columbus Day) stating that Viking exploration predated that of Columbus. Mr. Ceram takes up this issue in his first chapter under such headings as: "The Remarkable Map," "The Kensington Stone — Real or Fake," and "The Vikings Did Discover America."

According to the author, "North America was initially conquered not from the east but from the south; not by the sons of the Pilgrim Fathers after 1620, but almost a hundred years earlier by the Spaniards who came up from Mexico." And so the author turns to the fascinating story of the search by the Spaniards for the legendary "Seven Cities of Cibola," a bloody account of a search for gold and a first encounter with the Indian "skyscrapers" or "pueblos" whose archaeological treasures are discussed in later chapters. He also includes the strange and incredible story of Cabeza de Vaca who in 1528 with three other men were the first Europeans to cross southern North America from east to west. Theirs was not a story of conquest but an eight-year struggle for survival. A "true adventure" story in which the

hero lived to write his story. A natural born archaeologist, de Vaca's records are filled with information of all types on many tribes of early Americans, their customs, costumes and even a few recipes.

Others have followed in the footsteps of de Vaca and the author introduces some of the great names such as Bandelier, Kidder, and Haury and their archeological discoveries in the Southwest. The famous pueblos and the complicated, obscure society of those who lived there are dealt with extensively. There is also the story of the mounds of North America (including the famous Spiro Mound of Oklahoma), the mummies, the discovery of Folsom man and Sandia man and a precise explanation of how dates can be determined even to the exact year. There is also the story of Carl Jung's interview with a Pueblo Chief and his general impressions.

Mr. Ceram has stated that so much archaeological evidence and information has been gathered in recent years at such a rapid rate that the main problem is the assimilation of this information. He also says that scientific evaluation has not kept pace. So, the real value of author Ceram's book is its extensive compilation of archaeological data. This book could readily be dedicated as was *The Mound Builder's*, by Henry Clyde Shetrone, "to the average man and woman who. . .lack the time and opportunity for digesting the rather extensive but often unavailable literature on the subject."

The scope of Ceram's book, *The First American*, does not permit an in depth study of one particular aspect of the subject but is rather a survey which does include the authors own opinions and questions — some of which have no answer. Mr. Ceram always gives references to more detailed accounts but states that "to cite them would only hamper our efforts to obtain a general view."

The beautiful layout of this book with inserts of poetry, drawings, pictures, some in color, and 18 pages of bibliography only add lustre to an already excellent book.

—Patricia Lester

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

The Miami Indians. By Burt Anson. (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1970. Pp. 329. Illus. $8.95.)

In this one hundred and third volume of the University of Oklahoma Press's fine Civilization of the American Indian Series, Burt Anson surveys the history of this important tribe of the Old Northwest. Anson begins his narrative with an account of the earliest French contacts with the Miami confederacy, traces the role of these Indians in the British-French conflict for North America, discusses their opposition to American westward expansion, and describes the removal of part of the tribe from Indiana during the 1840's. The author then concludes his study by briefly sketching the history of the divided Miami bands from the removal period to the present.

Anson's discussion of the pivotal position of the Miami, during the early 1750's amply illustrates the importance of this tribe in the European struggle for control of the Ohio Valley. The defection of a large segment of the Miami, to the British resulted in continued attempts by the French to regain control over these apostates. Led by La Demoiselle (affectionately called "Old Britain" by the English), the pro-British Miami, established the village of Pickawillany on the Great Miami River in Ohio. This village soon became a center for British economic and political penetration in the region. French pleas and warnings had little effect, since the lure of cheap Brittish trade goods not only kept these Miami, at Pickawillany, but also attracted other tribes to the Miami village. Unable to compete economically with the British traders, the French finally resorted to arms and in 1752 a mixed party of French and Indians destroyed Pickawillany and killed La Demoiselle, forcing the recalcitrant Miami, to return to French hegemony.

During the period following the American Revolution, the Miami led the other tribes in opposition to American expansion into the region. Secure in their country north of the Wabash, the Miami were able to harvest and accumulate large stores of foodstuffs which enabled them to provision the raiding parties sent against the Kentucky frontier and to feed the Indian armies that defeated Harmar and St. Clair.

Anson asserts that the Miami led confederacy was "the most powerful and sustained opposition" ever assembled by the Indians and its defeat at Fallen Timbers signaled the end of any permanent Indian resistance in the West. He illustrates that the Miami war chief Little Turtle played a decisive role in directing the Indian victories and Anson also credits the Miami leader with the foresight of urgint conciliation with Wayne before the Indian defeat at Fallen Timbers.

After the Treaty of Greeneville, the Miamis replaced armed resistance with diplomacy and attempted to remain neutral during the War of 1812. They adopted various tenets of white culture including individual land ownership, but they were unsuccessful in their attempts to maintain their homelands in Indiana and a portion of the tribe was removed west of the Mississippi during the 1840's. The first half of the nineteenth century also marked the rise of the mixed bloods to prominence in the tribe and Anson describes the emergence of such leaders as Jean Baptiste Richardville, Francois Godfroy, and Francis Lafontaine. Combining a knowledge of the white man's world with an appreciation of Miami traditions, these men fought to defend Miami interests while often amassing personal fortunes of their own. Anson points out that such intermarriage with whites has continued to the present and has resulted in a Miami tribal membership almost entirely composed of a mixed blood lineage.

Since Anson's volume covers a chronological span of approximately three hundred years, his discussion of particular events or periods in Miami history is sometimes limited. The six decades of Miami history prior to 1763 need more elaboration as does Miami participation in St. Clair's defeat. Perhaps descriptive history is currently unfashionable, but the author's one paragraph account of St. Clair's rout seems insufficient to describe the greatest single victory of the Indians over American forces. Yet, Anson's general survey of Miami history is sound and the volume does establish the importance of the Miamis in the history of the Old Northwest. The narrative is adequately supported by maps and illustrations, although two of the maps are mislabled. *The Miami Indians* should prove a welcome

addition to historians interested in American Indians or the Old Northwest.

—R. David Edmunds

Laramie, Wyoming

Creek Seminole Spirit Tales. Jack Gregory and Rennard Strickland, Editors. Illustrations by Fred Beaver. (Indian Heritage Association: Pensacola, Florida, 1971. $10.00.)

Thanks to the untiring efforts of Editors Gregory and Strickland a companion volume to *Cherokee Spirit Tales* (The Chronicles of Oklahoma, Autumn 1969 p. 345) is now available. Its quality continues the high standard set by the first of the series.

As with the ancient Cherokee, the Creeks and the Seminoles too, had their beliefs, their superstitions and a high regard for the supernatural. As remarked by the Editors, truly the legends of these two great peoples "have followed the Indian in his brave journey across his homeland."

Although enduring, legends are difficult to transmute from the abstract to the material, and are difficult to translate from belief to fact. Yet such a difficult assignment has been accomplished here with skill and fascination.

Why the ocean is so broad, how fire came to the earth and why mankind have skin of different colors are rescued from the limbo of misty legend and made part of the solid heritage of tribal history.

Each separate story is enriched with an illustration by Fred Beaver. The Edition is limited to 1,000 numbered copies, each signed and certified by the Editors and the illustrator. It is hoped that the Indian Heritage Association will be able to enrich the series by additional volumes.

—George H. Shirk

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

The Life of Thomas Hart Benton. By William M. Meigs. (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970. Pp. 520. Index. $19.50.)

This reprint of William M. Meigs' book on the life of Thomas Hart Benton is a part of the Da Capo Press reprint series of The American Scene. It was first published in 1904.

Meigs was fortunate in that he could interview actual acquaintances of Benton and use their reminiscences in this work. He relied heavily on personal reminiscences of Benton's daughter, Jesse Benton.

Much of the book was devoted to political discourses which took place on the Senate floor. Many of Benton's speeches were included verbatim within the text. It might have been better if Meigs had included them in an appendix in order to promote smoother reading.

Meigs provided an adequate introduction that enabled the reader to understand how Benton was able to reach the United States Senate. Yet, the reasons for Benton's course of action in the Senate were not always explained. In Chapter XXIII Meigs has attempted to provide some insight into Benton's character. This belated attempt to compensate for the lack of characterization in the preceding twenty-three chapters is not adequate. Because it is included in one chapter at the end of the main body of the book, it gives the reader the impression that it is included as an after-thought. Therefore the transition into this chapter is not smooth.

Many of the biases, which were common in the period when Meigs wrote, are evident in the text. He agreed with Benton's views in many instances and he was not sympathetic to non-white Americans. Some of the dates he used when discussing political events are not accurate.

Meigs used Benton's life as a vehicle to discuss many of the political events which shaped the history of the United States in the period 1812—1857. Although this book has

been superceded by several other more accurate biographies of Thomas Hart Benton, it is still important for the serious scholar.

—Robert E. Smith

Stillwater, Oklahoma

Romance of the Soil: Reclamtion of Roger Mills County. By Mrs. John Casady. (Privately published. $3.95.)

Western Oklahom's Roger Mills County was probably the nation's most devastated by the ravages of the "dust bowl" years. In 1930 its population stood at 14,164. By the end of the decade, more than 60% had departed. But dust alone was not its undoing. On April 4, 1934, a 13.79 inch rain sent its rivers and creeks on a rampage in which 17 lost their lives. Property destruction approached $3,000,000 by depression-time values.

"*Romance of the Soil,*" told as only one who lived thru the period can tell it, is the well-written work of Mrs. John Casady. With her late husband they jointly published the *Cheyenne Star* from their marriage in 1919 until Casady's death 46 years later. Editor Casady acquired *The Star* in 1911, fifteen years after beginning in its back shop as an 11-year old "devil" apprentice. His 69—year association with a single paper is still a record in the state.

Neither the Casady's, nor a host of others whom the book is about, ever lost faith in Roger Mills. Casady, L. L. Males and others like them spearheaded the Upper Washita Soil & Water Conservation District which built the Sandstone Project. In its 65,000 acre water shed, cattle now thrive on lush grassland. Alfalfa, small grains and other crops have brought returned prosperity to Roger Mills. While there are less than 4,500 people in the county, Roger Mills is the state's biggest milk producer.

A large part of the book tells the story of families "who came to stay" in Roger Mills. They triumphed with their own

ecology, long before most Americans added the word to their vocabularies.

—Paul L. Bennett

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

The Economics of Harvard. By Seymour E. Harris. (New York: McGraw—Hill Book Company, 1970, Pp. lxvii, 519, Illus. Index. $14.50.)

Education was a major concern for the early settlers of Oklahoma, of the Southwest, and of the Great Plains. So also it was for the Puritan founders of Massachusetts Bay Colony. There in 1636 Harvard College was established as a "nursery" for ministers, and today, after three and a third centuries of growth, Harvard College has been transformed into a large, prestigeous university. Seymour E. Harris proposed to write a comprehensive economic history of that institution, and he achieved that goal in excellent fashion.

Harris surveys such topics as students and faculty, expenditures and finance, gifts and endowments, special studies and various schools, relations with the government, and accounting problems. The author's research is exhaustive, but he avoids the jargon of the economist as much as possible. Moreover, a concise chapter-by-chapter summary of his findings is provided. Not only is this book useful for persons particularly interested in Harvard University, but also individuals concerned with the general problems of financing higher education will benefit from this study. Particularly illuminating are the chapters on student behavior, student expenses, faculty problems, and financial difficulties.

College and University training is one of the most important avenues of social mobility available in this nation and ever-increasing costs could eventually limit access to it. Like the frontier of Frederick Jackson Turner, higher education could become an obsolete "safety-valve."

Moreover, the importance of college-trained individuals to the nations economy is apparent. Hence this book is important because it illustrates serious problems faced by universities in all sections of the United States.

Economic Historians and other specialists will profit from reading the entire book, but laymen also may benefit by reading the chapter summaries and the concluding remarks. Persons interested in the history of Harvard would do better to consult Samuel Eliot Morison's *Three Centuries of Harvard.*

—Paul F. Lambert

Stillwater, Oklahoma

Mostly Mama. By Lewis Meyer. (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1971. $6.00.)

First came *Preposterous Papa.* And now we have *Mostly Mama.* In these two charmingly written memoirs Lewis Meyer shares with us the stories of his truly remarkable parents. Oklahoma is richer not only because the Meyers made that trek from Texas to the Indian country but also because Lewis Meyer is able to narrate these adventures in such a warm and witty way.

Mostly Mama tells the other half ot the story of the Max Meyer household of Sapulpa, Oklahoma. But the author gives us far more than an entertaining family history. For this is the story of what it meant to have grown up in a world of stable values at a time when "no son or even son-in-law" declared bankruptcy and at a time when the Shakespeare Club and the Salvation Army really counted.

Nostalgia abounds in the scenes which capture Saturday night in Sapulpa and the excitement of a Lucky Strike Hi life). sm, tells the other half ot the story of the Max Meyer household and at a time when the Shakespeare Club and the

Salvation Army really counted.

Nostalgia abounds in the scenes which capture Saturday night in Sapulpa and the excitement of a Lucky Strike Hit Parade contest. And to top it all off, as an extra added bonus, there is Papa's advice (on sex) and Mama's philosophy (on life). Our contemporary society could use a strong dose of both.

There is more understanding of Oklahoma and her history in this marvelous book than in a dozen doctoral dissertations. Here is the heart of the state at a time when we were all a little younger and, perhaps, a little wiser. *Mostly Mama* is recommended reading for anyone who wants to understand what makes an Oklahoman tick.

Lewis Meyer has given us a combination of *I Remember Mama* and *Life With Mother* set on the Oklahoma frontier in the booming days of the twentieth century. Happily the work is already a critical and popular success.

One only hopes that Lewis' own daughters, Elizabeth and Renee, will one day feel a sense of obligation to give us *Son of Preposterous Papa.* For Lewis Meyer is a truly talented Oklahoman. This dynamic Tulsan is, as Lon Tinkle has written, a one-man cultural center. How often do you find a popular author *(Preposterous Papa* sold a million copies), a scholar (Phi Beta Kappa, Dartmouth), a television personality (Johnny Carson-Lewis Meyer Bookshelf) and lawyer (J. D., University of Michigan) who assists a Persian cat (Shan) in running the best bookstore in America (owned 97% by his lovely wife)?

—Rennard Strickland
Jack Gregory

St. Mary's University
San Antonio, Texas

FIRST MAIL WEST: Stagecoach Lines On The Santa Fe Trail. By Morris F. Taylor (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971. Map. Illus. Pp. 253. $10.00.)

The summer of 1971 marks the 150th anniversary of Captain William Becknell's first trip to Santa Fe from Missouri. He was so impressed with the trade possibilities in this new land that he returned the next year with a wagon train of goods to be sold. He followed what was later known as the Mountain Branch of the Santa Fe Trail. Becknell's early experience initiated American caravans and expeditions rolling west over this route.

The establishment of the first U. S. Post Office in Santa Fe on October 1, 1849 created a need for regular "mail stage" service over this long and lonely trail. The early "six-mule carriages with elliptical springs" of Waldo, Hall and Company that carried the mail between Independence, Missouri and Santa Fe were eventually replaced by the elegant "nine passenger inside" Concords of the Southern Overland Mail and Express Company of Barlow and Sanderson. Although this famous company has been frequently mentioned in literature, little was known of its history prior to Taylor's research. He took his information from commercial records and ledgers, post office records, waybills and travelers' records.

In *First Mail West*, the author relates for the first time the story of Barlow and Sanderson. Starting with a lengthy account of the historical and political background of the period, he covers the rise and slow and painful deterioration of Barlow and Sanderson as the rails filled its ruts in the early 1880's.

The author is Professor of History and chairman of the Division of Social Studies at Trinidad State Junior College, Trinidad, Colorado. He was born a New Yorker but has adopted the west as his home. He has published two earlier books, *Pioneers of Picketwire* and *Trinidad, Colorado, Territory.* Mr. Taylor is endowed with the humility and technique of a scientist and the charm and enthusiasm of youth. He has drafted a simple but gratifying plan for his future and possesses the quiet perservance to achieve his goal.

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma —Mrs. John D. Frizzell

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

July 22, 1971

Because of conflicting vacation schedules, the July Quarterly Board Meeting was called into session one week earlier than the regular time. This earlier date was July 22, 1971, and the meeting was called to order at 10:00 a.m. in the Board Room of the Historical Building by President George H. Shirk.

Members present for the meeting were: Lou Allard, Mrs. George L. Bowman, Q. B. Boydstun, Joe W. Curtis, Harry L. Deupree, M.D., W. D. Finney, Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Bob Foresman, Mrs. John D. Frizzell, Nolen Fuqua, Sen. Denzil D. Garrison, Dr. A. M. Gibson, Morton R. Harrison, W. E. McIntosh, Dr. James D. Morrison, Fisher Muldrow, H. Milt Phillips, Earl Boyd Pierce, Genevieve Seger, and H. Merle Woods.

Those members absent from the meeting were: Henry Bass, Dr. E. E. Dale, John E. Kirkpatrick, and Joe W. McBride. Mr. Phillips moved and Mr. McIntosh seconded a motion that members absent from the meeting be excused. The motion carried.

President Shirk introduced to the Board the two new members who were attending for the first time: Mrs. John D. Frizzell and Harry L. Deupree, M.D. Mr. Virgil Browne was also introduced as a guest of the meeting. Another guest was Mr. Muldrow's grandson, Jeff Niemeyer, who is to go to the 1971 Boy Scout Jamboree in Japan.

Administrative Secretary Elmer L. Fraker in his report spoke of the wide variety of gifts, in the form of historical items, Indian archival material, books, and photographs, which had been presented to the Society in the past quarter. Fifty-one new members requested membership in the Society. Mr. Allard moved that the gifts be accepted and that the application for membership be approved. Mr. Woods seconded this motion. The motion passed. Mr. Fraker also reviewed briefly a Budget Comparison showing the continued growth of the Society during the past year.

A new staff member has been appointed according to Mr. Fraker. She is Mrs. Glynda Campbell who is now working as Assistant Librarian in the Research Library.

Mr. Fraker announced that Mrs. Martha Royce Blaine, Chief Curator, had requested a year's leave of absence in order to complete a book which she had been commissioned to write on the Iowa Indians.

In her Treasurer's Report, Mrs. Bowman discussed the Life Membership Endowment Trust Fund and asked that she be instructed to pay from the Membership Fund to the Society's Operational Fees the sum of $2,301.93. Mr. Phillips so moved, and Mr. Muldrow seconded. The motion passed.

The matter of acquiring title to the Pleasant Porter Burial Ground

by the Oklahoma Historical Society was presented for discussion by Mr. McIntosh, Historic Sites Committee Chairman, Mr. Earl Boyd Pierce was authorized by the Board to secure quit claim deed to the burial ground.

Mr. McIntosh then told the Board of efforts being made in Tulsa to acquire the land on which the Creek leaders first lighted their council fire when they arrived in Oklahoma. This site overlooks the Arkansas River at what is now 17th and Cheyenne Avenue in Tulsa, and the council, or Locha Poka, tree is still standing there. An obscure marker is presently at the base of the tree, but the land is not owned by the City of Tulsa and a group of citizens are working in an attempt to secure the land and develop a significant monument at this truly historic spot. Mr. McIntosh was hopeful that negotiations would be completed in the near future.

President Shirk led a discussion of markers on the Turner Turnpike. There are presently markers showing the area of the old Creek Nation; however, the highway crosses land formerly owned by other tribes and it was thought these crossings should be noted also. Therefore, Mr. McIntosh moved, and Mr. Harrison seconded, that markers should be erected for any tribe which had owned land now crossed by the Turner Turnpike. The motion carried.

Members of the family of Cyrus Harris, first elected governor of the Chickasaws after arrival in Indian Territory, have requested the Oklahoma Historical Society to place a highway marker at the Drake Cemetery where he is buried. This request was made through Mr. Curtis. Mr. Shirk pointed out that this was a staff operation and should be referred to the Administrative Secretary.

The archaeological dig is still in progress at Fort Washita, according to Dr. Morrison, and is proving to be very helpful in determining the structure of this early military post.

Another site is also being examined by archaeologists — the Honey Springs Battlefield. Dr. Fischer said that Gilcrease Institute, under whose direction this dig is being conducted, will take infra-red photographs from the air. Such a procedure often reveals artifacts or formations not readily discernible from the ground. Construction work of the powderhouse should be underway by the end of the year, and the $25,000 appropriated by the legislature will be used to complete on-site improvements. Dr. Fischer's report of all work which has been done to the present was given to Miss Wright for publication in *The Chronicles.*

Mr. Fraker informed the Board Members that ten markers are being manufactured for the Cabin Creek Battlefield site. This, too, was an important Civil War battle fought in Indian Territory.

Honey Springs is almost a monument to Elbert L. Costner, Historic Sites Field Deputy, who passed away during this quarter. This was Mr. Fraker's tribute to Mr. Costner, a dedicated staff member, who was largely instrumental in securing the battlefield lands for the Oklahoma Historical Society. The Board Members paused in silent homage to him.

The Education Advisory Committee report was given by Dr. Gibson. This committee is conducting a study to determine whether or not the Society would be able to give financial assistance to those members of the staff who are continuing their education. It was felt by the committee that staff members should have released time if possible; that no more than two courses per semester should be carried; and that other similar institutions are reimbursing, in the amount of fees paid, such members of their staffs taking additional academic work. Dr. Gibson requested that additional time be given to complete the report. He urged that the staff members be encouraged to attend short courses, seminars, etc. Mr. Fraker added that several staff members are taking graduate work and working full time.

The Historic Sites Seminar report was next on the agenda, and Mr. Shirk told of the success of the meeting held May 13 in the Society's auditorium. He said he is hopeful that the Oklahoma Historical Society will receive as much as $100,000 of the national allocation for development and preservation of historic sites.

Through Mr. Woods, the Oklahoma Memorial Association sent a formal proposal to the Oklahoma Historical Society asking that the Society lend to the Association paintings and busts of certain of those citizens who have been inducted in the Hall of Fame, such objects as are now in storage at the Historical Building. Paintings and busts would be displayed in the new Hall of Fame gallery in the Judge Hefner Mansion, recently donated to the Association by the Hefner family.

Mr. Virgil Browne, of the Oklahoma Memorial Association, was asked to speak for the Association. He said that the report given by Mr. Woods reflected his feelings and that both organizations should work together for preserving Oklahoma history.

Executive Committee Chairman Shirk and Dr. Fischer, Chairman of the Museum Committee, felt the decision as to which pictures to be transferred should be done on a picture-by-picture basis. Mr. Allard moved that a committee be appointed to work out details of the proposal. The motion was seconded by Mr. Curtis and was passed.

Mr. Phillips suggested that this committee prepare a list of those honorees whose pictures are shown at the Historical Building and those at Oklahoma Hall of Fame. One of the provisions of the request was that pictures of elected officials, such as governors and senators, would remain in the Historical Building.

August 25 and 26 are dates set aside for a seminar on the Runestones discovered in eastern Oklahoma. This seminar is being co-hosted by the Oklahoma Arts and Science Foundation and the Oklahoma Historical Society. The first day's conferences will be in support of the theory that these are authentic Viking carvings, and the second day will be concerned with disproving this belief.

A report was made by Mr. Shirk giving details of the contract between HUD and the Oklahoma Historical Society for the Overholser Mansion. The grant provides $100,000 to be used for acquisition and restoration of this historic Oklahoma City home. The Society will own

the house in perpetuity, but the City will maintain the grounds, and be responsible for insurance and other routine items. The carriage house will be used for offices, and conducted tours will be held. Mr. Curtis moved that Mr. Shirk be authorized to sign the contract for the Society, and Mr. McIntosh seconded. All approved the motion.

The dream shared by many Oklahomans to restore Old Central, the first permanent building on the Oklahoma State University campus, formerly Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, is becoming a reality. Former President Henry G. Bennett had hoped to make this restoration while he was in office, but his time in office was ended tragically. Dr. Fischer, who is a member of the faculty at O.S.U., gave the background for this movement. He said that Mr. Finney and other members of the Regents for Oklahoma State University felt that contractural arrangements with the Oklahoma Historical Society would be desirable. A contract had been drafted by the University's attorney, Moses Frey, and Mr. Fraker, and had been brought to the Board meeting for approval.

Mr. McIntosh pointed out that Old Central is listed on the National Register of Historic Sites, and that Dr. B. B. Chapman has written a book on this building. The review in the Autumn, 1964 issue of *The Chronicles* featured Dr. Chapman's book.

Dr. Fischer moved that the officers of the Society be authorized to sign the contract; Mr. Curtis seconded the motion, and it was passed.

The Wigwam Neosho Commission, headed by Dr. H. L. Knight, Chairman, of the Oklahoma State University History Department, is preparing a report which will conclude the study made by this Commission. Mr. Shirk advised the Board that the Commission had been unable to determine the actual site of Wigwam Neosho, a trading post once operated by Sam Houston.

Mr. Pierce moved that state archaeologists be requested to examine similar places where there is a question of actual location. He suggested that President Shirk be authorized to inform the archaeologists of the Society's wish to study two sites in Wagoner County. Senator Garrison seconded the motion, which carried.

A request was made by Dr. Fischer that the Commission should be allowed to continue its study, for it was felt that a decision could not be made within the time set by the legislature in the appropriation.

A tremendous surge of volunteerism throughout the nation, including Oklahoma City, was brought to the attention of the Board. The Society is feeling the benefits of this movement, which is just in its infancy. Mr. Shirk appointed an Education Advisory Committee to direct Society volunteers. Mr. Foresman was appointed chairman of the committee, with Mrs. Frizzell and Miss Seger as members. The staff member coordinating these activities will be Mr. Bruce Joseph, Education Supervisor.

The matter of the Internal Revenue Code amendment pertaining to the value of contributions in kind, was reported on by Mr. Curtis. After

some research and consultation, Mr. Curtis summarized his findings by quoting Mr. Jack Kinnebrew, Jr., CPA, of Pauls Valley: "There is just no deduction [from income tax by donors for aesthetic value of gifts] to speak of".

Dr. Morrison announced to the Board that the State of Georgia will commemorate the sesquicentennial of Sequoyah's Syllabary of the Cherokee language at New Echota, Georgia, on October 30, 1971. Principal Chief Keeler had extended an invitation to the Oklahoma Historical Society to send a representative to this memorable occasion. It was unanimously agreed that that representative should be Mr. Pierce.

President Shirk informed the Board of Administrative Secretary Elmer L. Fraker's letter of retirement. The retirement has been accepted, and Mr. Shirk said he would appoint a Personnel Committee to recommend to the Board a successor.

At its January meeting the Board decided not to conduct an Annual Tour in 1971. Mr. McIntosh inquired if there had been any complaints as a result of this decision. Mr. Phillips stated that a number of people had expressed their disappointment to him.

Mrs. Bowman distributed copies of a letter to Mr. Shirk from Robert P. Jordan, Senior Editorial Staff Member of the National Geographic Society. The letter commended Mr. Shirk for his cooperation in advising Mr. Jordan of Oklahoma's Historical past, as part of an article on Oklahoma appearing in the August, 1971 issue of *The National Geographic* magazine. Mr. Phillips moved and Senator Garrison seconded that Mr. Shirk be commended for his cooperation with the National Geographic Society. All approved the motion.

Mr. Shirk announced that the daughter of Frank Northrup, editor of the *Enid Events* in the 1920's, had offered to present her father's writings to the Oklahoma Historical Society Library. The Society Board members expressed their gratitude for this collection.

Historian Grant Foreman had once suggested marking the road from Fort Gibson to Hulbert. Mr. Pierce said he would write a letter to Mr. Shirk requesting that the Society's Marker Committee work with the Highway Department in erecting such a sign. Mr. Pierce submitted the name, *The Nathan Boone Trail,* as a suitable title.

Having completed all business for the meeting, Mr. Phillips made the motion that the meeting be adjourned. Mr. Muldrow seconded this motion and all concurred. The meeting ended at 12:15 p.m.

ELMER FRAKER,
Administrative Secretary

GEORGE H. SHIRK,
President

GIFT LIST FOR SECOND QUARTER, 1971

LIBRARY:

Sooner Medic — Yearbook of University of Oklahoma School of Medicine for: 1956-1965, 1966-1969.
Donor: Librarian of Medical Library of University of Oklahoma School of Medicine.

Collection of Warranty Deeds, Patents, Mortgages, Receipts for Mortgage Tax, Rax Sale Redemption Certificates, Deeds, County Treasurer's Resale Deeds, Tax Receipts, etc. of Garvin County and old Chickasaw-Choctaw Nations.
Donor: Raymond Ward, Tishomingo.

"Hostory of Peckham, Oklahoma" by Opal Lute, 1971.
Donor: Mrs. Steve Lute, Newkirk.

The History of Roane County, Tennessee 1801-1870 by Emma M. Wells, 1927.
Buchanan, McClellan, McDaniel and Douglas Lines compiled by Mrs. Moss Rose Brown Douglas.
Donor: In Memory of Son Richard Douglas by Mrs. Douglas, Oklahoma City.

At the Headwaters of the Maumee — A History of the Forts of Fort Wayne by Paul Woehrmann; Indiana Historical Society Publication Vol. 24, 1971.
Indiana Historical Society Annual Report, 1969-1970.
Donor: Donald Kennedy, Oklahoma City.

The Life of John McLain Young During the Early Years of Oklahoma by John McLain Young, 1970.
Donor: G. M. Byerly, Oklahoma City.

Military Service of Nine Brothers in the Cause of American Independence (Revolutionary War) by Lester L. Roush, 1970.
Donor: Author of Gallipolis, Ohio.

Threadgills in America: A Colonial Virginia Family, compiled by Janis Heidenrich Miller, 1971.
Donor: Compiler of Baltimore, Md.

Memorial History of St. Paul's Lutheran and Reformed Churches: 1813-1960. Parker and Woodruff family records — assorted clippings, letters, etc.
Donor: Miss Fern McClelland, Oklahoma City.

The Report, Vol. 34 for *History of Germans in Maryland,* 1970, edited by Klaus Wust.
Donor: German Consulate, Philadelphia, Pa.

Aspy family records and Adams County, Indiana clippings.
Donor: Benjamin F. Aspy III, Okmulgee, Oklahoma.

Tilton family records — assorted items: deeds, mortgages, etc.
Donor: Mrs. Marjorie Tilton Mitchell, McAlester, Oklahoma.

The Ames Family 1520-1969: Bruton, Somerset, England by Faber K. Ames, 1969.
Donor: Author, Los Angeles, California.

The Truth About Jesse James by Rudy Turilli, 1966-1967.
Donor: Mrs. Robert L. Atkins, Oklahoma City.

Memoirs of Dr. Frederick Charles Seids — Pioneer Dentist in Oklahoma by Irene McCune Treeman, 1967.
Donor: Mrs. F. C. Seids, Perry, Oklahoma.

Map: Logan County, West Virginia.
The Story of McLean County (Illinois *and Its Schools* by William B. Brigham, 1951.
Donor: Harry H. Wortman, Oklahoma City.

Ritual in Pueblo Art – Hopi Life in Hopi Painting by Bryon Harvey, III, 1970.
Donor: Museum of the American Indian Heye Foundation, New York.

The Harvey Site — Archaeological Site Report No. 21 by Robert J. Burton, 1971.
Donor: Oklahoma River Basin Survey, University of Oklahoma Research Institute, Norman, Okla.

Calendar — Oklahoma City Anniversary 1889-1939.
Oklahoma History in Murals, 1889-1941.
Scrapbook — "The Golden Jubilee Celebration, Oklahoma City Public Schools, 1939."
Donor: Mattie L. Smith Jarrott, Washington, D.C.

Charles C. Tracy Genealogy by Harold W. and Helen R. Mullenax, 1967.
Donor: Authors of Tulsa.

The Royal Gallery of Poetry and Art 1886.
The Statesman's Manual: The Addresses and Messages of the Presidents of the United States, 1789 to 1851 Vol. II by Edwin Williams, 1853.
The Life and Speeches of Henry Clay, Vol. I, 1853.
Donor: Mrs. Nettie M. Parker, Oklahoma City.

Poem: "The Old Council House" by Mead S. Johnson, Dec. 29, 1941.
Donor: Miss Elizabeth Gafford, Oklahoma City.

Forest Echoes — First Yearbook of Class of 1909, National Park Seminary, Forest Glen, Maryland.
The Nugget — Yearbook of Junior Class of Colorado College, 1908.
Donor: Mrs. James F. Boynton, Oklahoma City for Mrs. Fay T. (Mrs. Harry) Pierson, Oklahoma City.

Index to United States Census for Georgia, 1820, 2nd edition with additions and corrections by Mrs. Eugene A. Stanley, 1969; The Georgia Historical Soc.
Donor: Mr. & Mrs. John Wyatt, Oklahoma City.

Wise-Tong Pioneers of Clackamus, Oregon compiled by Arthur D. Coleman, 1965.
Wives and Daughters of the Pratt Pioneers of Utah compiled by Arthur D. Coleman, 1969.
Donor: Mr. & Mrs. Coleman, Salt Lake City.

Collection of Literary Land Marks of Oklahoma of Oklahoma State English Council
Donor: State English Council members, Oklahoma City.

The Insignia System: Manuals Red, Blue and Tan and 2 Unit Bulletins — Invented by the late Charles L. Berry of Pawnee, Oklahoma, 1908.
Donor: M. B. Rischard, Oklahoma City.

Oklahoma Army National Guard Annual History, 1969.
Donor: Oklahoma Military Department, Oklahoma City.

Oklahoma City — The Industrial Center of the Southwest, Merchant and Manufacturers Record, 1903.
The Daily Oklahoman — Half Century of Progress Edition, Sunday March 1, 1953.
Donor: Miss Grace Sammis, Edmond, Okla.

Order of White Shrine of Jerusalem — Supreme Shrine 77th International Convention, May 1-7, 1971, Oklahoma City. 3 copies.
Donor: Mrs. S. Paul Gillispie, Oklahoma City.

A Pictorial History of Fairview and Major County — Souvenir Book, 1968.
Donor: Wayman Cornelsen & Chamber of Commerce, Fairview, Oklahoma.

Panhandle Pioneers, Vol. I, 1969; Vol. II, 1970.
Donor: Mrs. Mary McBryde, Oklahoma City.

Military Collector and Historian — Journal of the Company of Military Historians, Vol. 22, No. 4, Winter, 1970.
Program of the formal Opening and Dedication of the Bryant Baker Studio, Ponca City, March 28, 1971.
American Name Society Bulletin — No. 21, March 1971.
Canadian County Historical Society, Vol. 3, No. 1, March 1971.
"The Sturgeon Saga" by Ray V. Sturgeon, Sr.
Historic Preservation, Vol. 23, No. 1, Jan.—March 1971.
Goodwill Industries Review, March 1971.
The Oklahoma Bar Journal Quarterly, March 1971.
Who's Who in the South and Southwest, Eleventh Edition, 1969.
"The Governor's Ball" — Celebrating the Dedication of the McClellan-Kerr Arkansas River Navigation System, June 5, 1971.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City.

Quarterly of South Texas Genealogical & Historical Society, Vol. 4, 1969-1970.
The Descender, Montgomery Co., Kansas Genealogical Soc., Vol. 3, 1970.
Quarterly Austin Genealogical Society, Vol. 11, 1970.
The Genealogical Record, Vol. 12, 1970.
Flint Genealogical Quarterly Index and Vol. 12, 1970.
Yesteryears, Vol. 12, No. 47-48 1969; Vol. 13, No. 52, 1970.
Michigana, Index and Vol. 15, 1970.
North Texas Pioneer Index and Vol. 5, 1970.
Our Heritage, Vol. 11, 1970.
Quarterly — St. Louis Genealogical Society, Vol. 3, 1970.
The Arkansas Family Historian, Vol. 7, Nos. 1 & 2, 1969.
Northland Newsletter, Vol. 2, 1970.
Cenotaph to Our Ancestors, Vol. 6, 1970.
Quarterly of Rogue Valley Genealogical Society, Vol. 5, 1970.
The Ontario Register, Vol. 3, 1970; Index Vol. 2, 1969.
Mississippi Genealogical and Local History, Vol. 2, Nos. 1,2,3, 1970.
Valley Leaves, Vol. 4, 1970.
Ash Tree Echo, Vol. 5 and Index, 1970.
The Colorado Genealogist, Vol. 31 and Index 1970.
The Treeshaker, Vol. 8 and Surname Index, 1970.
Bulletin of Stamford, Conn. Genealogical Society, Vol. 12, 1970.
North Randolph Historical Society Quarterly, Vol. 3, 1 & 2, 1969.
The Treesearcher, Vol. 12, 1970.
Georgia Pioneers, Vol. 7, 1970.
The Idaho Genealogical Society Quarterly, Vol. 13, 1970.
Coos Genealogical Forum Bulletin, Vol. 6, 1970.
The Newsletter, North Platte Genealogical Society, Vol. 4, Nos. 1-3, 1969; Vol. 5 No. 1, 1970; Vol. 6, No. 1, 1971.
The Searcher, Vol. 7, 1970.
The Hossier Genealogist, Vol. 10, 1970.
"Family Findings" Mid-West Tenn. Genealogical Soc. Vol. 2, 1970.
The Researcher, No. 22, No. 24 1969; No. 28, 29 1970; No. 31, No. 32, 1971.
Thompson Family Magazine, Vol. 9, Nos. 32-35, 1970.
The Family Tree, Vol. 13, 1970.
Kern-Gen, Vol. 7, 1970.
Orange County, California Genealogical Society Quarterly, Vol. 7 & Index 1970.
Linkage For Ancestral Research, Vol. 4, 1970-1971.
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Hawkeye Heritage, Vol. 5, 1970.
Tree Talks, Vol. 10, 1970 and Index Vols. 8 & 9, 1969-1970, *Cousin Huntin'.*
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Ancestry, Vol. 5, 1970.
The Louisiana Genealogical Register Vol. 17, 1970.
The Genealogical Accredited Researcher's Record Roundup Vol. 2, Nos. 2,3,4, 1969; Vol. 3, 1970.
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Incomplete series of *Car-Del Scribe* of Chedwato Service, Burlington, Vt. formerly property of late Schuyler E. Cronley.
Incomplete series of "Genealogists' Weekly Query Exchange Index", Cronley collection.
Population Movements in England and Wales During the Industrial Revolution Series A, No. 51 1969 of Genealogical Society.
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Major Genealogical Record Sources in Mexico, Series H, No. 2, 1970. Gene. Soc.
Social, Economic, Religious and Historical Background of Sweden As it Affects Genealogical Research, Series D. No. 14 of Gene. Soc.
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Collection of "Ancestor Hunting" — Mildred Watkins column from *The Shreveport Journal.*
"Our Gray Line Bulletin" Vol. 6, No. 3, Fall 1967.
Quarterly — The Boulder Genealogical Society, Vol. 2, No. 1, May 1970.
Templin Directory — U. S. Family Members, 1970 by Ronald F. Templin.
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A Roll of the Officers in the Virginia Line of the Revolutionary Army Who Have Received Land Bounty in the States of Ohio and Kentucky, Feb. 15, 1822. Reprint.
A Short History of the Patilo Community of Erath County, Texas compiled by Chas. S. McCleskey, 1970 — name Index.
Delta Upsilon Fraternity Alumni Directory Oklahoma Chapter, 1970.

1830 Census Middle Tennessee — Transcribed and Indexed by Byron Sistler, 1971.
"Ansearching" News — Tennessee Genealogical Society Vol. 17, 1970.
In the Long Ago Photos of Randolph County, Arkansas. Given in Memory of Della Bowers Hooton (1896-1967) by Flodelle Hooton Gates thru' Okla. Gene. Society
Student Annual 1914 — Oklahoma City High School.
The Orbit 1927 — Classen High School Annual.
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The Sooner 1916 — Annual Year Book of University of Oklahoma.
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University Directory — University of Oklahoma 1916-1917. Vena Hawkins for O.G.S.
The Ghormley Story by Carmen Ghormley, 1970.
Joseph C. Foster and Kinsfolk by Chattie Foster Cox, 1969.
James Cox and His Descendants with families and places of residence by Chattie Foster Cox, 1967.
Alexander McGrew Family History by Chattie Foster Cox, 1965.
James Diamond (1781-1849) And His Descendants edited and compiled by Laura P. Marbut, 1970.
Ford County, Kansas, Marriages Book A 19 February 1874 to December 1886. Compiled by Donna Smyser Adams, 1970.

Photograph Division:

Two sepia photographs of W. C. Burke, City Engineer of Oklahoma City 1907-1908.
Donor: Mrs. Jess Moore, Oklahoma City.

Photo postal card of Main Street, Cashion, Oklahoma ca 1890-1900.
Donor: Mrs. Warren Parks, Chandler, Oklahoma.

Twenty snap shots of 1923 flood in Oklahoma City, June 8th.
Donor: R. Lester Craig by John Parsons – both of Oklahoma City.

Stone fence post, Wainright, Oklahoma, 1971 – enlargement.
Donor: Ray H. Burley, Okla. State University, Stillwater, Okla.

Mrs. Fred (Marion) Thede – enlargement.
Donor: Mrs. Thede, Oklahoma City.

Partially unidentified group photograph taken in Rome picturing Mrs. Fay T. (Harry) Pierson of Oklahoma City.
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Donor: Ted Morris, Oklahoma City thru' George H. Shirk.

Golda's Grist Mill, 10 m. west of Stilwell, Adair County, Oklahoma.

Donor: Oklahoma Industrial Development and Park Dept., Okla. City.

Oklahoma Civil Air Patrol, Summer 1969 – 4 negatives.
High Street Public Housing, 1971 – 18 negatives.
Scout-O-Rama, 1970 - 5 negatives.
Tinker Open House, Fall 1970 – 6 negatives.
Central Presbyterian Church Sports, 1969 – 7 negatives.
Citizen Tower Bldg., Oklahoma City – 4 negatives.
Last tower for Ground Observation Corps prior to demolition, Arnett, Okla. it was demolished in 1970. – 4 negatives.
Fort Reno, March 1971 – 13 negatives.
Currell Lumber Co., Lawton, Okla., 1971 – 25 negatives.
Component Plant, Carey Lumber Co., 1971 – 6 negatives.
Component Plant, Mid-America Lumber, Lawton 1971 – 10 negatives.
All Soul's Church, Fall 1969 – 4 negatives.
Britton Lumber, 1970 – 4 negatives.
Monroe "Y" Baseball, Summer 1969 – 4 negatives.
Federal Land Bank, Altus, Okla., 1969 – 3 negatives.
Tornado damaged house at N.W. 48th & Billen, Okla. City 1971 – 4 negatives.

Donor: Fred Huston, Oklahoma City.

INDIAN ARCHIVES DIVISION

Minutes meeting Inter-Tribal Council Five Civilized Tribes Apr. 16, 1971.

Donor: Muskogee Area Office, Muskogee, Okla.

Seis News, May—June 1971

Donor: Mary Elizabeth Good, Tulsa, Okla.

The Indian Arrow, published at Goodland Orphanage, Aug, Dec. 1970 May 1971

Donor: Rev. Grady James, Quanah, Texas.

Akwesasne Notes, June 1971

Donor: Akwesasne Notes, Roosevelt, N.Y., 13683

Texas Libraries, Spring 1971

Donor: Texas Library Historical Commission, Austin, Texas.

Permit dated Dec. 31, 1900, for Mrs. S. E. V. Cannon to work on Wichita Reservation.

Donor: E. H. Cannon, Memphis, Tenn., 38114

Apache Tribes v. U. S., Docket Nos. 30a—48a: Opinion, Additional Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.

Apache Tribes, v. U. S., Docket Nos. 30a, 48a, 30, 48, 182; Order denying Defendant's Motion to consolidate.

Assiniboinee Tribes v. U. S., Docket No. 279a: Order allowing reimbursement of Attorney's expenses.

Cowlitz Tribes v. U. S., Docket No. 218: Opinion on rehearing, etc.

Creek Nation v. U. S., Docket No. 167: Additional Findings of Fact; Final Award.

Gila River Indian community v. U. S., Docket No. 236—I: Opinion.

Gila River Indian Community v. U. S., Docket No. 236a: First interlocutory Order.

Gila River Indian Community v. U. S., Docket No. 236b: First interlocutory Order.

Gila River Indian Community v. U. S., Docket Nos. 236a, 236B: Opinion; Findings of Fact.

Iowa Tribe, Omaha Tribe, Sac & Fox Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 138: Order allowing reimbursement of expenses of attorneys for S & F of Missouri.

Cabazon Band of Mission Indians of California v. U. S., Docket No. 148: Findings of Fact; Final Award.

Mohave Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 295a: Opinion: Order denying Defendant's Motion for rehearing.

Stockbridge Munsee Community v. U. S., Docket No. 300a: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.

Osage Nation v. U. S., Docket Nos. 105,106,107,108: Findings of Fact on award of attorney's fees; order allowing attorneys fees.

Sac & Fox Tribe of Oklahoma, v. U. S., Docket No. 83: Opinion; Additional Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.

Sac & Fox Tribe of Okla., of Missouri, of Iowa v. U. S., Docket No. 143: Order allowing reimbursement of expenses of attorneys for Sac & Fox of Missouri.

Sac & Fox Tribe of Missouri v. U. S., Docket No. 195: Order allowing reimbursement of attorney's fees.

Absentee Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma v. U. S., Docket No. 334B: Opinion; Final Award.

Swinomish Tribal Community v. U. S., Docket No. 293: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Order of Dismissal.

Winnebago Tribe, et al v. U. S., Docket Nos. 243-245: Findings of Fact on award of attorney's fees; Order allowing attorney's fees.
Donor: Indian Claims Commission

Teague-Rogers-Pettit genealogy
Donor: Mrs. F. L. Farnsworth, Newton, Kansas

MUSEUM:

Group of Oklahoma automobile license plates, to supplement those already owned by Museum.
Donor: State of Oklahoma, Tax Commission, by Mr. Henry Ayres, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Organizational newspaper.
Donor: Mrs. Carol Freeman, Norma, Oklahoma.

Political campaign material, Dewey F. Bartlett, 1966 and 1970 gubernatorial campaigns.
Donor: Mrs. Marjorie A. Bailey, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Political material; Photograph, Governor Bartlett, received by donor in Vietnam.
Donor: Joe L. Todd, Bartlesville, Oklahoma.

Mounted deerhead.
Donor: Chester Eakins, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Cultivating tool, found by donor at Nails Crossing on the Blue River.
Donor: Jim W. Sills, Edmond, Oklahoma.

Dress, belonged to Eliza Vail Phillips, worn when she was presented at a voice recital as a girl in New York City.
Donor: Fred Streich, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Sewing machine, late 19th century, with attachments.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. James D. Hetherington, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

United States 45-star flag.
Donor: Mrs. Marjorie Tilton Mitchell, Hartshorne, Oklahoma.

Portrait of the Honorable William M. Jenkins, 6th Territorial Governor.
Donor: Family of Governor Jenkins, by Mr. J. Robert Wooten, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Oklahoma automobile license plates; copy of roster, Cherokee Strip Cow Punchers Association, 1940.
Donor: H. C. Fisher, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Dolls and dolls' clothing, made by donor.
Donor: Mrs. Robert F. Jones, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Bronze medals, Vermont and Oregon, "States of the Union" series.
Donor: Capitol Medal Company, High, Point, North Carolina.

Portrait, Ben May.
Donor: Milton B. May, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Dress, worn by Mrs. Willie Bryon Sherwood Campbell, wife of W. H. L. Campbell, first clerk of the Supreme Court, State of Oklahoma, at Statehood Ball.

Donor: David L. Mayer, Dallas, Texas.

Samples of grain from first shipment of grain to be shipped from Oklahoma by way of the McClellan-Kerr Arkansas River Navigation system; map showing route and final destination of shipment.
Donor: Fred F. Storer, Sr., Tulsa, Oklahoma.

(Oil Museum)

Service pin and employment record, The Prairie Oil & Gas Company, given to donor's father, John O. Stewart.
Donor: H. P. Stewart, Midland, Texas.

(Fort Washita Site)

Artillery shell.
Donor: Edna Mae Goodin, Wilson, Oklahoma.
(In Memory of her grandfather, Joseph Henry Godfrey, Attorney General, Chickasaw Nation)

(Sod House Site)

Pair of harnesses.
Donor: Paul Zimmerman, Helena, Oklahoma.

Window unit from old Bethel school near Waynoka, Oklahoma.
Donor: Mrs. Jesse Bouse, Waynoka, Oklahoma.

(Peter Conser Home)

Cast iron skillet.
Donor: David Lee Berry, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

(Chickasaw Council House)

Photographs, Salmon Wesley Mandrell, uncle of donor and teacher at Kaney School.
Donor: Mrs. D. L. Lackey, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Map, Texas, Oklahoma, and Indian Territory, 1902.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. B. F. Williford, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

(Oklahoma Territorial Museum)

Iron teakettle, brought to Oklahoma in 1888.
Donor: Luther Bowen, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Teacher's contract, Logan County, Oklahoma Territory, 1905.
Donor: Jim McLaughlin, Edmond, Oklahoma.

Photographs, Guthrie, 1891.
Donor: Mary Olsmith McTavish, San Antonio, Texas.

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS*

April 30, 1971 to July 22, 1971

Adams, Darrell D.	Jamestown, Ohio
Antene, Gaerald G.	Oklahoma City
Bain, Bill	Antlers
Bareton, Dr. John	Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Barron, W. L.	Long Beach, California
Boomer, Roger	Kellyville
Boyce, Wendell	Bartlesville
Britt, Daisie Belle	Ada
Cain, Mrs. Margaret	Tahlequah
Camp, Annie Laurie	Cottonwood, Arizona
Choate, Kenneth R.	Miami
Collins, Mrs. John L.	Bristow
Cox, Mrs. Mildred	Tulsa
Dickey, Sam	Moore
Evans, Dr. A. M.	Perry
Farmer, Mrs. William E.	Tulsa
Fears, Joe	Muldrow
Gossett, Denton D.	Fort Worth, Texas
Hall, Gary L.	Kingfisher
Huber, Doris R.	Miles City, Montana
Jones, Alva A.	Hennessey
Keats, Susan E.	Oklahoma City
Ketcham, W. L.	Oklahoma City
Kirk, J. Paul	Oklahoma City
Langston, A. R.	Angleton, Texas
Layman, Mrs. J. H.	Ardmore
Linck, Charles E., Jr.	Commerce, Texas
Long, William J.	Oklahoma City
Manson, Earl W.	Dewey
McCurtain, G. M.	Fort Worth, Texas
McSpadden, M. Rogers	Muskogee
McVay, Mrs. Jim	Oklahoma City
Mitchell, Mrs. Della	Rose
Mitchell, Frances Tussy	Oklahoma City
Payne, Hoyt	Muskogee
Roberts, Charles Edward	Sacramento, California
Robinson, William J.	Oklahoma City
Romine, John	Muskogee
Simpson, Dana	Midwest City
Smith, Larry D.	Moore
Spring Creek Memorial Cemetery	Oklahoma City
Stephens, Mrs. John W.	Tulsa
Steward, William E.	Lyons, Kansas
Swindler, Colleen	Fort Gibson
Todd, Joe L.	Bartlesville
Vaught, Kenneth A., Jr.	Oklahoma City
Walters, Mrs. Beorge	Broken Bow
Watson, Jack C.	Oklahoma City
Woodall, J. A.	Pryor
Work, James E.	Oklahoma City
Zollar, John Lincoln	Oklahoma City

There were no new Life Members during this Quarter.

* All members in Oklahoma unless otherwise designated.

New Annual Members	51
New Life Members	0
Total New Members	51

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publications Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are $5.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* Life membership is $100.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is $6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine (1937 to current number), $1.50. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA
1907

The CHRONICLES of OKLAHOMA

STATE OF FLORIDA LIBRARIES

Winter 1971–1972

INDIANGRASS
Official State Grass adopted 1972

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Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be sent to the Editor, Oklahoma Historical Society, 2100 North Lincoln, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105.

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THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

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WINTER, 1971 — 1972

Volume XLIX Number 4

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COVER: The front cover carries a photo of *Indiangrass* (scientific name *Sorghastrum nutans*) adopted as the official state grass by the State Senate (Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 72) on January 24, 1972. This tall perennial grass with its "golden plume-like seedheads" is one of the most beautiful, native grasses that grows in all 77 counties of Oklahoma. It is nutritious and is readily eaten by all livestock. *Indiangrass* is now an Oklahoma state symbol included with the state flower (mistletoe), state tree (redbud), state bird (Scissor-tailed Flycatcher), state song (*Oklahoma*), and the Great Seal of the State.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF BLOOMFIELD ACADEMY IN THE CHICKASAW NATION

*By Irene B. Mitchell and Ida Belle Renken**

Bloomfield Academy was the work of missionaries who came into the Chickasaw District of Indian Territory. The school developed from an ordinary boarding school for Chickasaw girls to a finishing school of the first order and was sometimes called the "Bryn Mawr of the West." During the Golden Age in the history of Bloomfield the girls who graduated enjoyed a measure of prestige warranted by the standards that had been established and maintained for many years. The school was founded by the Reverend John H. Carr in 1852 and its fame grew because of the desire that the Chickasaw people provide excellent schools for their children and the devotion of the missionaries who came to serve them.

When the missionaries came into the Chickasaw District shortly after the removal of the Indians had been completed they found a wonderfully rich country. This was like a promised land to the missionaries who believed that here in the bosom of the earth lay untold riches; but for them the greater wealth was in the lives of the Indians among whom they had chosen to work. To the Indians this new land was like a trackless wilderness for here there were no homes, no schools, no churches, no cultivated fields, and no one to teach their children.[1]

A petition from the Chickasaw Indians was presented to the Seventh Indian Mission Conference at the Choctaw Agency, November 7, 1850, by Reverend John H. Carr. This

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A new dimension in higher education at Oklahoma College of Liberal Arts was achieved when Dr. Irene E. Mitchell, Professor of History and Mrs. Ida Belle Renken, senior were brought into a colleague relationship by their sharing historical research experiences in an Oklahoma History class.

[1] Sidney H. Babcock and John Y. Bryce, *History of Methodism in Oklahoma* (Privately published, 1935), Vol. I, p. 38. The Church Agency provided additional funds for support of teachers.

was a request for a neighborhood school. At this conference the Presiding Elder appointed Reverend John H. Carr as superintendent and discussed a possible site for this school which was in the Island Bayou region of the Chickasaw country, now south of the present town of Durant.

For many years Reverend Carr had served as a missionary and as a circuit rider for the Methodist Church. He was assigned to superintend the construction of a Chickasaw Indian Mission school. The name of this school was chosen in a most unique way. When asked by the school trustee, Mr. Jackson Kemp, where to address his mail while at school, Reverend Carr gazed on every side of him at the prairie flowers in prolific growth and gorgeous bloom and said "Bloomfield"![2]

Reverend John H. Carr went East in the summer of 1852 for the purpose of selecting teachers to help him conduct this school. He engaged Miss Angelina Hosmer, of Bedford, Massachusetts, whom he married in June of that year and Miss Susan Jane Johnson of Stockbridge, Massachusetts. Miss Angelina Hosmer had had previous experience as a missionary among the Choctaws.[3]

When they reached Bloomfield in the fall of 1852 the building was not completed. An experienced carpenter, Reverend Carr assisted in completing the structure. At first a neighborhood school was conducted for both boys and girls but soon Bloomfield became a boarding school for girls.

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[2] *Indian Pioneer History,* Foreman Collection (Oklahoma Historical Society), No. 7335, p. 335. Interview with Mrs. Georgia Lee Carr McCoy. Other sources give the credit of naming Bloomfield to Jackson Kemp. Picture No. 2369 in Oklahoma Historical Society is named Jackson Kemp, Chickasaw who named Bloomfield Academy.

[3] Inscription on Mrs. Carr's tombstone in Old Bloomfield Cemetery located a short distance northwest of the first site of the school.

In Memory
of
Angelina H.
Wife of Rev. J. H. Carr
Born in Mass. April 1, 1820
Died Sept. 28, 1864
For more than 15 years a missionary to the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians.

During the years prior to the Civil War Bloomfield, like the other mission schools, was on the industrial order plan. The girls showed progress in music, needlework, and homemaking as well as academic studies. No doubt the responsibility for the splendid records of accomplishment came because of the influence of the missionary teachers. They were able to transplant their love of wisdom in such manner as to endow their pupils not only with a keen awareness of righteous living, but also with the desire to learn. These teachers, for the most part young women but recently graduated, created a cultured environment for the Indian children and influenced the social tone of the entire community.

Throughout the Civil War Bloomfield served as a neighborhood school but the building was used as a drug dispensary and a hospital for the Chickasaw Battalion. When the War ended the Chickasaw Nation adopted a new constitution August 16, 1867, which specifically stated quality education should be provided for their young people. A number of educators directed the affairs of Bloomfield, from 1867 to 1876 including Captain Frederick Young, Dr. and Mrs. H. F. Murray, and Mr. Robert Cole.

An issue of the Choctaw newspaper, *The Vindicator*, published at New Boggy, Indian Territory, on June 14, 1873, contained a school report to the editor which said in part: "Send all our children to schools that could be carried on in a manner that would reflect honor on the Nation, besides conferring a lasting good upon the rising generation... and in their belief we ask the help and support of every sober thinking mind of our country. Let us inaugurate schools that will elevate our children to an equal footing with our white brethren...."

On October 9, 1876, Governor B. F. Overton signed an act establishing a female seminary at Bloomfield Academy under the contract system. The Superintendent of Chickasaw Schools and the National School Board consisting of three members agreed: "The Contract shall not be made but with those of the highest moral character, or Christian standing,

BLOOMFIELD ACADEMY

This was the last Chickasaw academy building erected at the site of Bloomfield in 1896

with practical and successful experience in teaching and managing a first-class boarding school."[4] The first contractors to operate the academy were Mr. J. E. Wharton, Mr. Robert L. Boyd, and Mr. Douglas H. Johnston.

During this period of reconstruction, Governor Benjamin C. Burney, in 1879, expressed his concern for education of the Chickasaw youth. He said, "Education is the lever by which our people are to be raised to a mental level with our surroundings. . . ."[5] Truly the next two decades were the Golden Age of Bloomfield.

The history of the Chickasaw educational system extended throughout the Nation until their youths possessed a cultural and educational background that excelled in the Indian Territory. In every part of the state of Oklahoma one sees evidence of this training and the contribution made by the girls who attended Bloomfield Academy. The descendants of these girls of Bloomfield have received a cultural heritage that is of intrinsic, aesthetic value coupled with a religious fervor that will be forever a blessing to them.

A discovery of unprinted material concerning Bloomfield Academy in 1904 reveals education at this Indian institute for Chickasaw girls was more modern than today. A cultural environment was created which continued to influence the social tone in Oklahoma. Bloomfield Academy was a highly selective school and only the best scholars attended. The girls excelled in all the performing arts. Dedicated teachers and an excellent staff helped the girls become a part of a unique culture which has permeated the warp and the woof of Oklahoma's culture today.

One such young lady was Helen Birdie Smith, a member of the graduating class at Bloomfield Academy in 1904.

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[4] Constitution, *Treaties and Laws of the Chickasaw Nation,* (Atoka, I. T., 1890), p. 98.

[5] John Bartlett Meserve, "Governor Benjamin Franklin Overton and Governor Benjamin Burney." *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* XVI, June, 1938, p. 227.

Birdie Smith was born February 15, 1884 near Tishomingo, Indian Territory, and died November 18, 1970 at Chickasha, Oklahoma. She was the daughter of Woodford T. Smith and Syrena Cheadle Smith. Her father, Woodford T. Smith was Superintendent of Collins Institute for a number of years.

The Smith family was indeed proud of Birdie who was selected to attend Bloomfield Academy at the turn of the century. From the very beginning the Chickasaw legislators were most exacting in setting up the standards for Bloomfield Academy. The girls selected for this school were between the ages of nine and eighteen and each family was allowed only one daughter to attend at a time and for no longer than a five-year period. The standards prescribed for entrance included: the ability to read well in the *McGuffey's Fifth Reader*, spell well, and read the *New Testament*, and be of good moral character. [6]

Birdie Smith made progress at Bloomfield in her academic studies, in performing the arts, and learning the social graces. She and the other students at Bloomfield Academy were progressing in the usual manner characteristic of a girls' boarding school. Although the scholastic requirements were strictly adhered, the students had many carefree hours both outdoors and within the school buildings.

This leisure time found many of the girls riding horseback down lanes shaded by innumerable trees or through the meadow that skirted the placid lake on the eastern edge of the Bloomfield farm. Sometimes the girls found the forbidden pleasures most alluring and for the infringement of school regulations punishment was meted out. Such an incident was related by an employee of the school as follows: [7]

> I worked at Bloomfield for two years when it was located near Old Kemp. Freighted supplies from Dennison, broke horses for the girls to ride, cared for the cattle and hogs belonging to the Academy, and

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[6] *The Indian Champion*, Atoka, I. T. May 24, 1884.

[7] *Indian Pioneer History*, Vol: 67, No. 4871, p. 239.

washed dishes. Douglas H. Johnston was the superintendent. Every Saturday he and the principal went to Denison. The girls stacked the benches in the auditorium and danced. The leaders were to be whipped but they ran off. It was cold and snowing so I felt sorry and hitched up a team and took them home.

The academy maintained strict discipline but the girls were allowed an unusual amount of freedom in governing themselves. Birdie was a leader not only in her class but had the respect of the entire student body. She gave a "Talk to the Girls" that expressed her feelings about dating:

You must always be thinking about what you are doing when young men are about. You must mind how you throw out your boquets and roses and fillets[7a], or you will find yourself like minnows in muddy water. In fact, it is the easiest thing in the world for some chaps to think they can court you. . . . All Christendom can't keep them from thinking because your body is in their presence that your *heart* is there also.

You may appear as lovely as liquid bloom and lily white can make a young lady of the period, but you must not be peering at a pair of whiskers over the edge of a feathery fan, if they catch you napping, first thing you know they will have you labeled with their image. In fact, *courtship* is something like fishing. ---You throw out the baited hook, soon the excited cork, bobbing up and down, elicits bright anticipations, that you will in a moment draw up a beautiful sunny pearl of the deep, and lo! you swing out one of the *ugliest, mossy blacked, stump-narrative monsters* of creation, just as *ugly* in his form and will never let loose till it thunders.

Keep your eyes open but it won't do to trust too much appearances either. If a young man calls at your Pa's, whose *business* you can very well guess, some cold Saturday evening, and looks in the face something like a heated furnace, you get some of the little fellows under the buggy seat to see if there is not a terrapin shape bottle there with something in it as *strong* as *Sampson.* In a word as he passes the door he leaves an odor something like unto cloves drowned in a whiskey barrel.

Some men's souls seem to be very low down, even down in a slick pair of boots; if you will watch such a one quite close you will find he has a *peculiar* attachment for some domestic affairs. He has a wonderful liking about how his mother does things; *depend* upon it you will have to do *just like she does* and you'll never know what sort of condition you're in, till you find yourself *awfully* tididled *[sic.]* over the narrow track of domestic expenditures. I say he won't do, and if you'll sail around Cape-lookout again you'll find he is *actually tied* to his mamma's apron strings and goes whining to her for advice.

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[7]-a A narrow band, ribbon, or the like, worn around the head to keep the hair in place or as an ornament.

All is not *gold* that glitters either. That *butter-fly* looking that dazzles out in a society as *polished* as a looking glass, *shines* from bottom to top, but on the other side he is perfect quick silver, he is a *domestic caterpillar*, a *moth moody, exacting,* you'd not know him at home. There is another kind of disease quite puzzlesome sometimes known as contrariness: some of them would sometimes be quite a jewel, a good grab, if it wasn't for that,. . . Such occasions magnified anticipation for flatters and flirts continually tugging at your heart strings with their sickle formalities. They won't do either. They make a sensible person think of a dose of *castor oil, pretty* and *slick* but the very mischief to take. Courtship, flattery, flirtation and jealousy make quite a cautious compound and the *young lady* that analyzes them without being strained with either ingredient is indeed a very expert chemist.

In the early 1900's the curriculum at Bloomfield was equal to the course of study offered in present day junior colleges and the girls were allowed to select their courses from a variety of subjects, such as logic, chemistry, astronomy, botany, typing, art, elocution, and music.[8] During the heyday of Bloomfield, the girls who graduated from the Academy held diplomas which were sufficient proof of their ability to teach school within the Chickasaw Nation without the usual teachers' examinations. The school was considered the cultural institution in the southern part of Indian Territory. This came about largely through the progressive methods used in the teaching of music and painting. At the Louisiana Purchase Exposition held in St. Louis in 1904, the Indian Territory Exhibit received very favorable comments and a prize was awarded to the art department of Bloomfield.

The requirements for graduation were rigid. The girls enrolled at Bloomfield Seminary were required to take written and oral final examinations in all the subjects. Many weeks were spent in reviewing and preparing for public exercises during which the parents and friends were allowed

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[8] An interview with Mrs. Julia Chisholm Davenport, December 29, 1951. Mrs. Davenport was the granddaughter of Jesse Chisholm and niece of Governor Douglas H. Johnston, Chief of the Chickasaws. She lived with the Johnston family and attended Bloomfield during the time her uncle was superintendent of the Academy. A cousin of Mrs. Davenport and niece of Governor D. H. Johnston was Alice Hearrell, a graduate of Bloomfield. She was the gracious and charming First Lady of Oklahoma when her husband William H. Murray served as Governor of Oklahoma, 1931-1935.

to question the students and assist in conducting the examinations. In later years at Bloomfield, this public examination was replaced by the more traditional graduation services and each member of the graduating class was required to write an original essay and deliver this paper at the commencement exercises. This prerequisite to graduation was an integral part of the exercises taking the form of entertainment similar to the valedictory and salutatory addresses of today.The girls of the graduating class of the early 1900's selected a costume that appeared to be the standard apparel for a number of classes. They were full, wide gored skirts of black serge that were ankle length revealing only a small portion of the black high buttoned shoes that were in vogue. The graduating seniors were fashion plates of loveliness in their long sleeved, elaborately tucked shirtwaists of white lawn styled with high collars trimmed with bands of black ribbon for certain gala occasions. Highly decorative belts were worn by the girls.[9] When they went as a group on shopping trips or visits to other schools in Indian Territory they were required to wear black mortar-board academic caps with the initials, "B. B." (Bloomfield Blossoms) embroidered in bright yellow. In preparation for the formal graduation ceremony, the senior girls of the class of 1904, selected white Japanese silk material for their graduation dresses. The girls designed and made by hand their ankle length, identical dresses.[10] They also memorized musical compositions to be performed during the graduation program. The most important preparation for the graduation exercises was the writing of their essays. The class of six senior girls included Lucy Young, Jane Newberry, Charlotte Goforth, Myrtle Conner, Ramona Bynum, and Birdie Smith who wrote their essays on subjects ranging from History of Indian Territory to world peace. Birdie Smith was valedictorian of her class and received the Masters of Dramatic degree. Her graduation speech was as follows:

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[9] An interview with Mrs. Wayne Hill, Healdton, Okla. October 10, 1951.

[10] Interviews with Mrs. Birdie Smith Butler, 924 South Eighth Street, Chickasha, Oklahoma, the summer of 1970. A tribute to her memory at the time of her death on November 18, 1970, appeared in *The Chickasha Daily Express,* Chickasha, Oklahoma.

All the good things of the earth first had their birth in the fancy of some idealist. And in spite of the fact that several of the great nations of the world are still engaged in strife, the voice of prophecy proclaims that the era of peace is sure to come. We have seen among the most advanced and progressive nations of the earth a growing tendency to submit their disputes to arbitration. And instead of being ambitious to excel at arms, they are seeking commercial and educational supremacy. As it is with the individual so it will be with the nation. As the spirit of peace finds root and flourishes in each individual soul the possibility of clashes between nations will become more and more remote. Health, happiness, and true success can only exist either for the individual or for the nation, where peace and harmony can rule. The man who hates his brother or seeks to injure him is sure to reap a harvest of sorrow because he is violating the great law of peace and friendship.

As we come more and more under the influence of the One Law and give up our individual lives more and more fully to its influence, we see clearly that the best interests of one are bound up with the good of the Whole. Education in the laws of life is the great promoter of peace and well-being. Men must be taught the oneness of all life and the spirit of altruism must be aroused in them. They must be shown that the father-hood of God and the brother-hood of man is something more than a figure of speech. That it has a scientific foundation and is going to become an actuality upon this earth. The first and foremost instinct of man on the animal plane is self-preservation. But as he advances in spiritual unfoldment he learns that the law of the universe is peace and order.

Then in proportion as the nations of the earth come to live at peace with each other and to replace jealousy and strife with true helpfulness and cooperation, they will find themselves developing true strength and permanency. For harmony in all its forms is temporal while peace and harmony are eternal. With universal peace we can be one great and loving nation. The grandest enterprises may be carried forward, our loftiest aspirations may be reached and our highest ambitions realized. Peace has its own peculiar victories in comparison with which Marathon, and Bannockburn and Bunker Hill, fields which are held sacred in the history of human freedom, shall lose their lustre. In all time to come may the grandeur of men be discerned, not in bloody victories nor in ravenous conquests, but in the blessings which they shall secure, in establishment of perpetual peace.

Dear parents, it is through your agency and inducement that we, the class of 1904, have reached this day, a day which will be a remarkable period within our lives. Kind teachers, we hope you have not labored in vain to make women of us which our country will be proud. We appreciate your kind words of advice and the interest you have manifested in us. Dear loving schoolmates, we have been a joyful happy band and now that the day has come for us to part, let us remember each other kindly and try to make use of the great lessons we have learned. Now, to all Farewell! Farewell to Bloomfield, the pride of all true Bloomfield Blossoms!

Graduation was considered a great occasion and social event in the Chickasaw Nation. All the prominent Chickasaws

BIRDIE SMITH
GRADUATE OF BLOOMFIELD ACADEMY
1904

were present for these graduation festivities. An interesting musical and literary program was presented to the family and friends of the graduates. Thursday was devoted to graduation exercises and to entertaining the guests. The girls were long remembered for their excellent performances. Music and drama at Bloomfield Academy were a part of the culture and had a lasting influence upon life in the Chickasaw Nation and indirectly has had a place in Oklahoma. This cultural heritage among the Chickasaws received from the graduates of Bloomfield left its impress in the state of Oklahoma. An article in the *Denison Semi-Weekly Herald* described the graduation at Bloomfield Seminary in June, 1904.[11] Outstanding among the graduates of Bloomfield was Birdie Smith, a gracious lady who loved beauty, gained wisdom, and shared the understanding of her Indian culture.

[11] Edwin C. McReynolds, *Oklahoma A History of the Sooner State*, University of Oklahoma Press, 1954, p. 414. The article from the *Denison Semi-Weekly Herald* in June, 1904, describes the graduation exercises at Bloomfield. See *Appendix* at the end of this article.

APPENDIX

(From *The Semi-Weekly Denison Herald,* June, 1904)

Season Is Ended

Closing exercises of Bloomfield Seminary were held last Thursday.

School Made Good Record

Attendance was not large on account of rains but the program rendered by the pupils was very elaborate. --- Games and Barbecue.

The closing exercises of the Bloomfield Seminary for the season of 1903 and 1904 were held Thursday and the faculty have just cause for pride in the showing made not only by the graduates but by the entire corps of students. The rains and bad condition of the public roads caused a falling off in attendance at the closing exercises. About six hundred visitors were present which is less than half the usual attendance. The guests were from all portions of the Territory.

The program this season was even more interesting than in former years and those who braved the elements were well repaid for their trouble. Preceding the exercises of Thursday an interesting musical and literary program was rendered on Wednesday evening for the entertainment of the parents of students and other visitors who had come from a distance.

Thursday the entire day was given to the entertainment of the guests and the program for the commencement exercises.

An interesting feature of the morning's program was a contest between two teams of Indian club swingers. The members of each club wore halves of rosettes of yellow and black ribbons, and at the close of the contest the victors were given the colors of the opposing team and were decorated with the full rosette which they had won after a close and spirited contest. Miss Sophia Frye, of Ardmore, was the captain of the black ribbon class which won the victory. The yellow ribbon class was captained by Miss Carrie Young of Berwin. The judges of the contest were W. J. Bourland, W. R. Hume, and J. W. Johnson.

During the morning recess the two basketball teams gave an interesting exhibition of basketball which was highly appreciated by the spectators. The game was played on the seminary campus. The remainder of the morning hours were taken up with recitations, readings, and contests.

The graduating class numbered six young ladies. Misses Ramona Bynum, Myrtle Conner, Jane Newberry, Charlotte Goforth, Lucy Young, and Birdie Smith.

The room in which the exercises were held was prettily decorated with the class colors of pink and white and the class flower a white rose was much in evidence.

The exercises for the afternoon commenced with an invocation by Rev.

C. A. Burris delivered in the Chickasaw language. Rev. Burris is one of the oldest Chickasaws and is considered the orator of the Chickasaw Nation.

The program rendered by the graduates and students was as follows:

Chorus, "Summer Fancies," Metra Glee Club.

Salutatory, "The Development of the Indian Territory." --- Lucy Young

Class Recitation, "Wind".

Orchestra, "Zacatecas," --- Cordinna.

Essay, "Helen Keller." Jane Newberry.

Piano (30 hands), "Les Amazones," Steabbog --- Carrie Love, Neta Johnson, Carrie Young, Melissa Johnson, Sudie Durham, Lucy White, Grace Moore, Lizzie Grinslade, Effie Archerd, Illa White, Jennie Connelly, Rowena Burks, Eddie Turnbull, Elsie Reynolds, Lorena Eastman.

Poem, "The Lotus Eaters." Tennyson --- Pantomined by class; reading by Carrie Young.

Orchestra, "March Edina," Wiegand.

Essay, "Our Alma Mater." --- Charlotte Goforth.

Chorus, "A Natural Spell," Bristow Glee Club.

Piano (16 hands), "La Premiere Danseuse," Zetterbait. --- Myrtle Conner, Sophie Frye, Vera Burks, Cecil Burris, Lena Thompson, Minnie Good, Fannie Kemp, Ramona Bynum.

Essay, "A Rough Surface, Polished, Shines Forth in Brilliancy." --- Myrtle Conner.

Chorus, "Morn Rise," Czebulka --- Glee Club

Solo (5 pianos), "Invitation to a Dance." Weber (op. 65). --- Charlotte Goforth, Lucy Young, Birdie Smith, Lucretia Harris, Rennie Colbert.

Essay, "History Making of the Present Age." Ramona Bynum.

Duet (4 pianos), "June Bugs," Holst, Lillie Sacra, Daisy Harris, Illa White, Ruth Easkey, Zula Wolfenbarger, Josie McGeehee, Lena Thompson, Abbie Mead.

Orchestra, "Valse Ninette," Bosce.

Piano (quartette), "Grand March," Wallenhaupt, Charlotte Goforth, Lucy Young, Birdie Smith, Lucretia Harris.

Valedictory, "Peace on Earth." --- Birdie Smith.

Graduating Ode, "Dear Sisters. Now Adieu," Ayres -- Seniors and Juniors

Presentation of Certificates and Diplomas.

Orchestra composed of twenty-five stringed instruments.

Every number on the program was rendered with that excellence which is only attained after conscientious study and careful training.

Great credit is due the faculty for the excellence displayed by the students and those who witnessed the closing exercises were loud in their praise of the general efficiency displayed in all departments. The faculty for the session was composed of Prof. Elihu B. Hinshaw, superintendent; Earl S. Light, principal; Mrs. E. B. Hinshaw, Matron; Misses Mica Mullins, Zenobia Yarborough, E. Jennetta Bennet, Pearl J. Statts, Ruth T. Hubbard, department teachers.

M. V. Cheadle, of Tishomingo, superintendent of public instruction of the Chickasaw Nation delivered an address in which he accorded the faculty great praise for the general tone of excellence established and maintained at Bloomfield and to which the students bear witness not only during their school days but in after life.

At noon Thursday an excellent barbecue and luncheon was furnished the guests through the generosity of Professor Hinshaw. The day was very pleasantly spent and the visitors will long cherish agreeable memories of the occasion. Much of the work displayed in the literary and art departments will find a place at the St. Louis Fair where the school already had an excellent exhibit.

CHISHOLM SCHOOL, DISTRICT NO. 22

*By Marj D. Bennett**

When it was that America's fabled little red school houses were changed to white, I do not know. Nor is there any agreement in folk-lore about why they were red in the beginning. Some collectors of Americana say it was because the railroads, creeping across the prairies in the 1880's ingratiated themselves to skeptical, often hostile homesteaders, with offers of free paint to every district school. Depots were always red. Hence, the township school soon stood painted in the same hue.

But for whatever reason, the reign of "red" had ended long before that September day in 1922 when I, as an eager first-grader crossed the mile of prairie between our farm and Chisholm School, District No. 22. It was located four miles north of Britton, and is now the site of an exclusive new residential development.

The school is gone — moved to become a youth center in neighboring Britton for a few years. Then the sturdy old building was dismantled, and the lumber used to enlarge a local rest home. Boards which may have penned in the residents as moppets, now shelter them at life's end.

The school stood near the old Chisholm Trail north toward Kansas. As we grew older and studied Oklahoma history, the more imaginative of us could look out the door and almost see the ghostly longhorn cattle herds, Abilene bound, scrambling through the schumac and up the draw that broke into the prairie a few hundred feet northward. In

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fancy, we heard the whoops of phantom trail drivers, echoing from the years of the trail's glory.

Nothing about Chisholm, or any other rural school, built at the turn of the century, would please the esthete, or challenge today's school planner.[1] But there it stood, 24 by 36 feet, with three windows on each side, a door at the back, and another door and cloakroom at the front. The term "juvenile delinquent" had not been invented then. Nor was there a need for it. Those were happy days, but we did not know it at the time.

During our years at Chisholm, most of us who attended felt ourselves the most underpriviledged of students. A scant dozen miles away was Oklahoma City with its palatial grade schools. Week-end visits of city cousins, with their exaggerated accounts of their many wonders, added to our already heavy burdens.

However, across the wisdom of forty years, I can see how lucky were the students who trooped in after the flag-raising, always followed by verses of "America," "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean," "America, the Beautiful," and "Battle Hymn of the Republic." None of our teachers had musical training, but we made up for quality with vigor.

After the singing, we always repeated the Lord's Prayer. No patron, teacher, or student ever worried about the possible implication of this, as do we in this neurotic-age issue of "religious liberty." Nor was anyone ever distressed by the reading from Holy Writ which always followed the prayer. In repeating the Lord's Prayer, some of the younger students may have said, "Our Father who 'works' in Heaven" or "'Hollow out' They name." But, in time, as they advanced toward the eighth grade, they learned the correct words and their meanings. The Bible readings were usually haltingly done, with many promptings from the teacher, who did not know the pronunciation of many of the Biblical names. Why was it that we always seemed to be forever bogged down in

[1] The Oklahoma County schools were originally laid out in 99 districts. In 1928 there were 37. Today (1972) there are two—Oak Dale, District 29, and Crutcho, District 74.

CHISHOLM SCHOOL (The Oklahoma Publishing Company)
District 22, Oklahoma County

the "begats?" However, these students, for the most part, have not forgotten these lessons, though their grandchildren would now be students at Chisholm, if it were still standing.

Nearby Chisholm Creek — now removed to prevent erosion — ran red after the rains. On its red banks grew wild grapevine to swing on, blackhows to eat — hardly worth the effort and the dying of face and tongue — persimmons, and red berries and greens with which to decorate the school during the Christmas season. The creek no longer runs its lazy way with fat crayfish just waiting to be caught. There were also small catfish, seemingly much larger than they were. The city "farmers," speeding around the curve in the blacktop road to their modern "ranches," would never suspect the former bucolic pleasures in what is now relatively uninteresting, though efficient landscape.

Many of the boys (and a few brave girls) who attended Chisholm School learned early of the evils of smoking. This was before the days of filters and lung cancer. They learned to smoke by cutting twigs of grapevine. After a case or two of badly burned tongues, most of them decided to give up this messy, grown-up habit.

Along the north wall of the school house grew a healthy thicket of poison ivy. This is not the type usually meant by "halls of ivy," for we avoided it like the plague. My father, who served a number of years on the school board, regularly went each year before the opening of school to try to eradicate the pest. He took his axe and a sack of salt. He chopped away at the roots and then applied salt to them. This seemed to serve the same purpose as modern chemical fertilizers. There was no poison ivy along the creek which seemed so verdant. We never played in the cool shade of the north side of the building. The path to the girls' toilet was longer than a straight line, in order to give the vine proper distance.

There was a fifth grader in our school, known as "Fat." He had a twin brother, "Kin," short for skinny. Fat was the show-off and would-be bully of the school. One day, in order

to impress a group of giggling girls, he marched up bravely, washing his hands and face with the poison ivy leaves. He was absent from school about two weeks. I can see "Fat" yet, as he stood under the ubiquitous leaks in the roof. Most of the leaks had pans or pails under them. The sight and sound of this made a nice distraction from studies. When Fat wanted to make an impression on the student body, he would stand under one of the leaks, head far back, mouth wide open. I expected him to have typhoid, or worse, but he never missed school on that score.

On the school ground was a very uneven basket-ball court. We looked very charming, shooting goals in our black bloomers and long black stockings. There was a baseball diamond. We played "work-up" and were hard put to find enough players, including the teacher and the little kids. I was an outstanding fourth grade umpire for the team.

We had many a rough game of black man and crack-the-whip. The younger children were at a disadvantage, but they grew up tough, if they survived. The teacher had to be on playground duty all of the one-hour lunch period, if she expected to have a full roster after lunch. The teacher was also the janitor, bringing coal from the nearby coal shed in the winter. There was also a well in the shed from which the older boys drew pails of water. These sat on a table in the back of the room with a community dipper. No one ever came down with any dread disease, paper cups notwithstanding. If one had to be excused from the room, it was customary to raise the hand, putting up either one or two fingers. Usually the teacher nodded permission in time, but not always.

The little one-room white school houses were dotted over the state of Oklahoma at three-mile intervals. This was on the theory that every student would be within walking distance. How closely would they have to be spaced today? All of the buildings looked much as if they had been stamped out with a cookie cutter, both as to interiors and exteriors.

All of the schools were painted white and kept in good

repair. There were three windows on each side, with grills over them to discourage burglaries. After the Christmas tree fire and tragedy at Babbs Switch, Oklahoma in 1925, all of the buildings were modified to have both a front and a back door, opening to the outside. On entering the front door, one passed through the cloak room, in winter filled with coats hanging on hooks, wet mittens, and smelly golashes. One teacher regularly and ceremoniously escorted unruly pupils into the cloak room and closed the door. Soon proper sound effects issued from behind the door. It was not until much later I learned she had been vigorously switching the coats, while the student moaned painfully.

Truth to tell, I spent a great deal of my grade school career being frightened. There were two favorite methods of punishment besides the switch. I always felt sorry for the pupil being punished, and a few times had occasion for self-pity.

From the first day, I was in love with my first grade teacher. She was young and beautiful, with long auburn hair, worn in a large bun. My first day of school is a well-established memory. My lunch was carried inside a little round tin dinner pail. In addition, I had a new pencil set in a red folder, new crayons, and a new tablet with blue-lined paper and large Indian in a war bonnet on the red cover. At the end of the first day, I announced to my mother, "I am going to be a teacher just like Miss Rowen." That has been an ambition which I am still trying to fulfill to this good day.

One day I was brought to reality when my beloved teacher felt called upon to punish me — for what I cant't remember. She preemptorily relegated me to the dark recess underneath her large oak desk. It was lonesome and frightening, and seemingly I was made to remain for an eternity. In addition, it was quite smelly. A stray tom cat had inadvertantly been locked in the evening before. He had been there before me, but I would not have dreamed of calling this to Miss Rowen's attention.

A much-used method of punishment was to march the

errant student to the blackboard until his nose touched it. Then he was asked to stand on tiptoe. Thus was achieved the measure for drawing a small circle in which the nose was to be placed. If the student was caught taking a furtive look aroung the room or trying to shift to a more comfortable position, woe be to him! Once I had to endure this humiliation. Most of the desks were double. This was fine, if one were permitted to choose his seatmate. What could have been worse than having to sit with little brother? One day he decided to torture me by eating some of my new crayons, so I promptly bopped him. This the teacher observed, and did not inquire into motives. I was given the nose-in-ring punishment — Brother won that round.

When I was in the second grade we had a teacher whose brown ringlet hair I much admired. She did not look fierce, but she did talk wild. Perhaps she had not read John Dewey or the psychologists of the day. She regularly threatened to pull out our arms by the roots, and beat us with the bloody stumps. I was perhaps the only one who took her seriously.

In my fourth grade year, our old-maid teacher left at mid-term to marry the farmer on whose land the school house stood. Came Mr. Smith to finish the year. None of us will ever forget him. It was then that we really learned what terror was. He looked much like a Santa Claus, but such was not his disposition. He had a red face, especially when he was angry, which was most of the time, and a large round belly. He rode a small, patient donkey the five miles from his home in Edmond. I felt sorry for the little beast, as they must have weighed about the same amount. When I observed him riding to school, his feet almost touching the ground, I thought of Aesop's fable, in which the boy and his father ended up carrying the donkey. I considered this the appropriate way for the daily five-mile trip to have ended.

When it was time for each class to recite, the pupils went to the front of the room to give their lessons from the recitation benches. The teacher asked them questions from the text. The younger students learned much from listening to the older ones recite. Mr. Smith's impatience with our

stupidity was the atmosphere of the classroom. One day the eighth grade class was reciting. Elmer was asked the question, "Who is the president of the United States?" Elmer was a slow, deliberate, overgrown boy. He sat in silence too long. Finally, he scratched his head slowly, and replied, "I know, but I just can't think of it right now." Mr. Smith promptly turned purple and stamped in a rage about the room. I sat, hoping against hope that he would not have an apoplectic stroke.

Another time, a large eighth grade boy, weighing about the same as Mr. Smith, misbehaved. Mr. Smith blustered, red-faced, back to his seat. He removed Henry from his seat by his shirt collar, dragged him through the room, out the front door, around and around the school ground, covered with several inches of snow. The students watched, transfixed, from the windows, while over and through the drifts they went, Mr. Smith still tightly clutching the back of Henry's collar and with his other hand stuffing snow down his neck the while. It seemed a very long time before he tired of this strenuous activity.

During Mr. Smith's tenure we had lively spelling matches each Friday afternoon; also ciphering matches at the blackboard, as well as drills in rapid calculation. By the end of the year most of us could keep up with his rapidly dictated problems. How Mr. Smith did love to recite! The climax to the frantic Friday afternoons was his recitations. He had a very limited repertoire, and he made up with vigor whatever else he lacked. His face became very livid as he warmed to his task. His large white handkerchief was needed for Eugene Field's "Little Boy Blue." I can still hear him as he admonished us in sinister tones to follow in the footsteps of "Abou Ben Adam."

There were always a few "big boys" in our school. They were usually larger than the teacher, and in some cases older. They attended when their farm chores did not interfere. They came mostly to give the teacher a bad time, or so it seemed. Their favorite pastime at recess was to teach the younger boys the vine points of swearing. This was one lesson thoroughly taught, and perhaps well remembered.

The "hot lunch program" dates back a long way. We had it at Chisholm, and the smells linger yet. About eleven-thirty each day an older pupil would go to the back of the room and light the coal oil stove. As if this were not enough, she then set out to prepare salmon soup. Into a large pot she put milk, donated by the parents. When this came to a boil, she put in two cans of inexpensive pink salmon. The smell was enough to alleviate the heartiest of appetites, but none seemed to notice but me. Unless it happened to be a bitterly cold day, I declined this supplement to my cold sandwiches. The odor of the coal oil fumes, mixed with that of the soup lingered from one day to the next. Those smells, mingled with the coal fumes from the big pot-bellied stove in the center of the room, plus the oil applied to the floor to keep down the dust, made a strong elixir.

We also had a modern reading program. There were several old and well-worn sets of encyclopedias and the ever-present large Webster's dictionary. Once a month our teacher would go to the State Capitol building and get a large crate of books from the State Library. We had much delight in seeing how many we could read before they had to be returned one month later, when she brought another boxful.

We regularly had penmanship practice. The teacher sent out best specimens to the county superintendent. There were also spelling and reading awards. We received beautiful certificates, properly inscribed, and signed by the County Superintendent, HERSELF. In order to be promoted from the seventh to the eighth grade, or from the eighth to the ninth, candidates took the county examinations. These were formidable lengths of newsprint, covering all of the year's work. Once of the clearest memories is of the unison penmanship practice. The teacher intoned monotonously, "Push, pull; Push, pull; Push, pull" and the, "Oval, Oval, Oval..." until all had completed a double line of each across the top of the penmanship paper. Her monotone and the scratching of the pens were the only sounds. The bent heads and the intently contorted faces would be a good subject for Norman Rockwell.

Who could forget our annual programs? These were three

in number, beginning with the one in the fall to furnish entertainment for the box supper. Proceeds from this were used to buy bags containing an apple, an orange, nuts and hard candies to be presented to each child present at the Christmas program, and delivered by St. Nicholas, himself. The last day of school was always celebrated by a picnic. The families came with baskets of food. After everyone had eaten so much he was no judge of the fine arts, we presented our last program of the year.

Every student was urged to participate, regardless of talent, or lack of it. There were readings and songs, both solos and choral numbers. There were short plays taken from the magazine, "The Grade Teacher." Much valuable school time was taken up to over-practice the programs. I do not recall anyone who would be considered talented. The teachers had no musical or dramatic training, but due to our enthusiasm, these programs stand out as highlights. The parents were tolerant, since it was a matter or reciprocity. The school provided the main social outlet for rural Oklahoma in the early part of this century.

When Chisholm, District No. 22, was consolidated into the Edmond school district in 1957, it was the last of the remaining one-room schools in Oklahoma County. With it disappeared an era, just as the era of the little red school house gave way to that of the little white one. However, in replacing these modest structures with the present modern, well-equipped buildings, it must be remembered that what is really significant in any school is that which takes place between teacher and pupil.

THE JOURNAL OF PRIVATE JOHNSON: A FRAGMENT

By George H. Shirk

When almost fifty years ago George H. Johnson put to paper for family use memoirs of his early days, he at most only partially realized that he was making a contribution to Oklahoma history that today is most welcome to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* Now that we are in the second century after the Battle of the Washita it seems incredible that another eyewitness diary would make its appearance, yet such is the case here.

George H. Johnson was born in Davis County, Iowa on October 20th, 1850, the son of Maxwell and Mary Eliza Johnson. When yet a youth, his family moved to Barton County, Missouri; and it was from there that George and his brother left to make their own ways in the world. At the time George and his brother left home, however, events elsewhere were in progress that would render young Johnson and his memoirs of interest today.

The story of the Battle of the Washita has been told many times and from every conceivable point of view, and a further retelling is not here intended. [1]

At that time General Philip H. Sheridan commanded the Department of the Missouri, with Indian pacification the primary mission of the Department. With the failure of the 1867 field operations Sheridan decided on a change of plan, and for the following year he selected Bvt. Major General George A. Custer, then a member of the recently organized regular army unit, the 7th U. S. Cavalry, as his field commander.

On October 6, 1868 the War Department authorized the Division Commander, General William T. Sherman, if deemed

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[1] See the first 6 footnotes to George H. Shirk, "Campaigning With Sheridan: A Farrier's Diary," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXVII, No. 1 (Spring, 1959) p. 68, where some six different versions are listed.

"necessary to a successful prosecution of the present campaign against the Indians" to accept the services of a regiment of Kansas Cavalry. This he did three days later. The Governor of Kansas, Samuel J. Crawford, resigned that office to accept a commission as colonel of the 19th Kansas Volunteer Cavalry.

Fort Scott was selected as the location for the organization of the regiment and Colonel Crawford mounted an enlistment blitz in an effort to have the regiment available for immediate field service.

The promise of excitement in an Indian campaign apparently beckoned to George Johnson, and he enlisted as a private in Company G on October 20, 1868 for a period of six months, and was mustered into the service eight days later. He gave Fort Scott as his place of residence upon enlistment. Upon expiration of his term of service he was honorably discharged at Fort Hays on April 18, 1869. [2]

As is well known, logistical difficulties prevented the arrival of the regiment at Camp Supply in order to participate in the Battle of the Washita.[3] However, the regiment took the field on Monday, December 7th, along with the 7th U. S. Cavalry and rendered good service for the remainder of its muster.

Here we pick up the story as told by George H. Johnson. The journal is written with soft pencil on school tablet paper. Apparently several complete tablets at one time comprised his reminiscences, but unfortunately only this one has survived. Further, the first few pages of the surviving tablet appear to be missing. From the abrupt commencement it is apparent that an unknown amount of material preceded the fragment here edited, and as the entire tablet is filled it is a reasonable assumption that the manuscript continued on into

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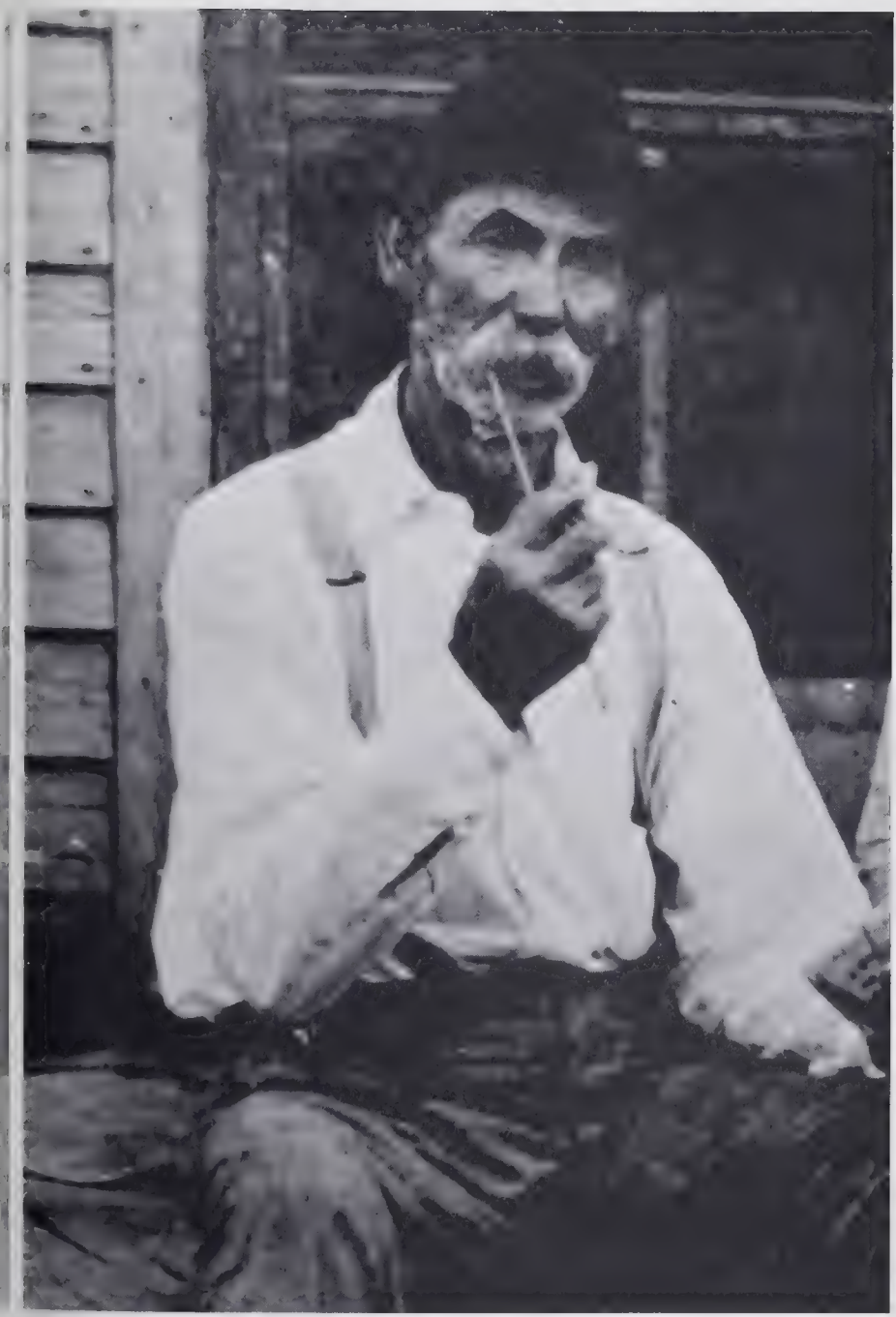
[2] The details of the enlistment of Pvt. Johnson have been furnished by The Adjutant General of Kansas, Topeka, 1971.

[3] See Horace L. Moore, "The Nineteenth Kansas Cavalry in the Washita Campaign," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. II, No. 4 (December, 1924) p. 350.



GEORGE H. JOHNSON, VETERAN

(Enlisted in 1868, private in Company G, 19th Kansas Cavalry with Gen. George A. Custer's campaign against the Indians.)

the next tablet. Punctuation has been added. Now to his memoirs.

The Journal Of George H. Johnson

...and take them prisoners and get our things back that they had stolen but he said: No, what would we do with them if we did. Well, I said to him, I believe I can steal their guns, but he said, No they might shoot me then he would have no one to sleep with him in the brush. So we crept back, mounted our ponies and went back to the house, told Mother about it. For God's sake, keep away from them, she said, I believe that they were here last night to kill both of you boys. Well, I said, we will get them yet. So we mounted our ponies, rode across the creek, we saw six men coming straight toward us. We waited 'til they came closer. We made them out to be Union men so we went out to them. We knew some of them. One was a scout from Fort Scott. His name was Jeff Denton.

Well, in the Spring we looked around to find a better location. Found a place over in Barton County, Missouri, about three miles from the Kansas line. A man had built a cabin on it and had about ten acres of cultivation. So my father traded our team for it and we moved over and located there. That was a wild country at that time. Our closest neighbor was three miles away. There was lots of wild game in the country. We didn't have very much to eat, only what wild game that we could kill. My father was not a very good hunter. So sometimes we were so hungry that we didn't know where we were going to sleep, but my brother and I soon grew up and then we hunted and killed game. Father raised corn and pumpkins, hogs and everything. Mother spun the yarn, made our clothes. Then we began to live better. My mother married an old rascal so I thought it was about time for me to be going. I packed up my belongings. I found that I only had worth taking along what was on my back, so I left the old home that I loved so well and went west in the Fall of 'sixty-eight.

My brother [4] and I and one of our neighbor boys enlisted in the 19th Kansas Cavalry at Fort Scott, Kansas. It was made up to fight Indians on the Great Plains in the west campaign of General Custer in the year of 'sixty-eight and nine against the hostile Indian tribes, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Kiowas, and Comanches.

Our company left Fort Scott went to Topeka from there to Fort Hays, Kansas. At that time there was but one railroad across the plains. That was the Northern road. Before we got to Fort Hays we saw thousands and thousands of buffalo. So many of them got on the track they stopped the train. We fired at them from the car windows till our Captain told us to stop wasting our ammunition, that we might need it to fight Indians. So we went out to Fort Hays. There we hit the trail to Fort Dodge on the Arkansas River about 100 miles away. We were then in the Indian country, so we had to be very careful. There millions of buffalo, as far as the eye could see, the whole country was black with them. We had plenty of buffalo meat to eat.

When we camped at night the officer in command had a chain guard put out around the camp. Put a soldier about every 100 yards apart clear around the camp. The sergeant of the guard gave orders if we saw anything that looked like an Indian to fire at it, so many times we did shoot things that we thought were Indians. The coyotes and gray wolves were so thick that we could not keep them off of us at night. So we would shoot them and say we thought it was an Indian. So we arrived at Fort Dodge.

Then we stayed a few days and went on to Camp Supply.[5] The first day out we got lost in a snow storm.[6] It

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[4] Identification is uncertain. Family records tell that the names of his brothers were William T. Johnson and Wilson T. Johnson. There was no enlistment in the 19th Kansas under either name, nor was there anyone named Johnson who enlisted on the same day as did George H. Johnson.

[5] Camp Supply was established by G. F. O. No. 10, Hq., District of Upper Arkansas, In the Field, 18 November 1868. The name was designated by G.F.O. No. 8, same series. Capt. John H. Page, being the senior company commander present, was post commander.

[6] Heavy snow was the reason the Regiment did not reach Camp Supply in time to participate in the Battle of the Washita.

was three days before we found the trail. We were guarding 400 wagons loaded with supplies for the soldiers. Went on to Camp Supply. On the way I killed my first buffalo. It was a big bull. I shot him several times and he laid down. I kept on shooting and going closer 'til I was up to him. I touched him with my gun. He was stone dead. So I cut off some meat for supper and the wolves got the rest. I hadn't gone fifty steps away when they piled onto him and soon had him eaten up so it was no trouble after that for me to kill them when we wanted some meat.

It was a very cold stormy winter. We suffered from cold and exposure. We had to go on guard about every third night. Didn't matter how cold or snowing it was then we had to get up at four in the morning and be ready to mount our horses and march at daylight. Sometimes it was fearful cold sometimes storming. We had some blizzards that winter. I have stood guard over the horses at the picket line when the horses would freeze to death. A man doesn't know what he can stand until he has to. That was the hardest winter[7] that I ever put in all my life. I thought I would never get back home again.

Well we reached Camp Supply. It was a supply camp in the forks of Beaver and Wolf Creeks, just a point where they came together. Well General Custer is there waiting for us with his 7th Cavalry Regiment so we joined him. He pushed on across the Washita River there found the Cheyenne camp. Attacked it at daylight November 27, 1868, killing Black Kettle and about 200 of his band and captured some women and children and a lot of ponies and other stuff and burned the camp.[8] So we helped guard the captives to Fort Hays. There were three white girls that the Indians had with them captives. They were rescued and sent back to their homes.

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[7] The severe winter of 1868 is legendary. The mysterious Lieut. P. N. Hardman reported the temperature on the campaign was 30° below zero. See George H. Shirk, "The Case of the Plagiarized Journal," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 4 (Winter 1958-59) p. 383.

[8] It must be remembered that the 19th Kansas did not arrive until Monday, December 7th, so Pvt. Johnson did not actually participate in the sacking of Black Kettle's village.

Well we had a hard time. We marched all over the staked plains that winter. When we got back our clothes were about torn off of us. So we were a hard looking lot but we were all fat and in good health. Well this ended the campaign. We went back to Fort Hays, were mustered out and started back to civilization.

On our way back we were walking across the bridge at Ottawa, Kansas. We met a little girl. She wanted to know if we were going to stay all night in town. I told her we were. She said her mother kept a boarding house and wanted us to go up there and stay. I told her I didn't know, I would see the other boys about it. She said she will stay here until you see them. I hadn't seen a white girl for so long I wanted to go with her, but the boys would not go, so I had to go on and leave her standing there on that bridge. We went on and stayed all night with a farmer. The next day we went on and finally arrived at Fort Scott. There we met our Captain.[9] He was glad to see us and gave us our discharges. We went on down to the old neighborhood, and were very glad to get back. We separated each went his own way. Well I was alone in the world. I was sure lonesome, but I was with the boys and girls that I grew up with. Well I had seen a little of the world, so I was determined to see more of it. After a while I got restless. I wanted to do something. I wanted to go somewhere. I did not know so I got acquainted with a young man, I have forgotten his name. He wanted me to....

A Trip To Texas

I turned my back on all my friends and relatives. We pressed on. Sometimes found a place to stay overnight. Sometimes lay out on the ground but I was used to that, but my partner was not. I have forgotten his name, but it doesn't matter. I didn't stay with him very long, but I found him to be a very agreeable companion. He was kind and good and full of life. We were then well on our way. We were close to

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[9] The original captain for Company G was Capt. Charles Dimon. He was promoted to major 23 March 1869 and Capt. Richard Lander assumed command of the company. It is uncertain which officer Pvt. Johnson met.

Fort Gibson on the Arkansas River. We overtook some more travelers that were going to Texas, so we traveled with them. There was quite a crowd of us then.

The old man that owned the outfit was a hard old pill. His name was Turner. He had some whiskey with him. So it was against the law to have whiskey in the Indian Territory, but he passed it around every day to the crowd. There was one man in the crowd he was a tenderfoot. He was green. He couldn't take a joke, so the boys all picked on him. We all groomed our horses at night to clear the mud off of them, so one night he went out to clean his horse. He made a mistake and cleaned my horse instead of his. I saw him doing it but I didn't say anything. He came back to the campfire, said he had his horse cleaned, I told him I would bet him ten dollars against his watch he didn't. He said alright so we put our bets up in Mr. Turner's hands. Then I told him to pick one man from the crowd and I would pick one, and the boss would pick one. We all went out to my horse and he said that is the one I cleaned. I showed him his horse, he then saw his mistake.

So the next day when we camped we saw a squirrel in the top of a tall tree. We all got to shooting at it and some of us shot it out, but we didn't know which one of us. So we put up a mark and the one that shot closest to that mark was the one that killed the squirrel. When we all got through shooting the tenderfoot said that one of the bullets bounced back and hit him in the face. We all laughed at him so about it. That night he went down the road, when he came back he wanted to borrow a six-shooter. The boss got up and asked him what he wanted with it, told him if he wanted to use it on anybody and would say who it was. He guessed he would accomodate him, but he said he heard something down the road, wanted to go down and see what it was.

Next morning he went on ahead, left the outfit. Went to

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[10] For an interesting view of life on the Texas Road see Grant Foreman, *Down the Texas Road*, Norman, 1936.

a town called Perryville,[11] and when we got there we found that he had reported we had whiskey in the outfit. They were trying to get enough deputy marshals to take us in. Being so many of us they were afraid to attack us, so we told them that we would camp down on the creek that night about a mile from town.

After dark and after supper we quietly hitched up and went on and traveled all night. The next day we crossed Red River. We were then in Texas, so we knew that we were safe. Just as we got across the officers came up to the river. We told them to come over and we would give them a drink. But they thanked us and said they did not belong on that side. So we went into camp right on the bank. We stayed there that night. The posse went back. Our man was with them, so we never saw him after that. The next morning my partner and I left the outfit, as we wanted to go to Bonham.

When we got down in the eastern part of the state we could hardly find a place to stay all night. The settlers didn't want to keep travelers, so one evening we commenced early to find a place to stop. They kept putting us off and sending us on till it was dark. We got off the road and finally got lost in the wood. We saw a light, went to it, a house in the woods. I hollared. A boy came out I told him we wanted to stay all night. He said we can't keep you. Then I said, where is the main road. Right over there about half a mile. I gave him a quarter to show us the road. We traveled on in the dark about two miles to a house. I told them we wanted to stay 'til morning. They said they could not keep us, that the woman was sick, but I didn't believe them. I went in the house. There was only one room. A woman lying on the bed appeared to be very sick so I concluded we had no business there. We went on three or four miles came to a house. It was then getting late. They had all gone to bed. We called them up. The man came out. We told him what we wanted. Oh, he says, we couldn't possible keep you. I got down off my

[11] Perryville was a most important settlement in the Choctaw Nation at the time. See Muriel H. Wright, "Additional Notes on Perryville, Choctaw Nation," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VIII, No. 2 (June, 1930) p. 146.

horse, and said I wouldn't go another step, I am going to stay right here by the fence all night. Yes, my partner said, we can't go any farther tonight, we are tired and hungry. Well the man said if you are bound to stay, I will accommodate you the best I can. We told him anything would do, so he put the horses in the stable, fed them, went to the house. Woman got us something to eat next morning. We found them to be very good people, so we paid them for their trouble and went our way.

It was only about twenty miles from there to Bonham so we got there that day. We were getting short of money, so my partner said that we would make some money. I asked him how would we make it, well this horse of mine has never been beat running. If I can match a race we can win some, so we put up at the hotel and put our horses in the barn, just as if we had plenty of money. It was two or three days before we had any chance to do anything. The third day a traveling outfit came along with a race horse. So they wanted a race. So my partner told them he would put up his horse against a hundred dollars for a hundred yards, and the first horse out would take the money. They said they would do that if we would run in the morning. That was just what we wanted. The racetrack was out at the edge of town. The next morning we went out there. A big crowd went with us. My partner told me to offer to bet my horse against fifty dollars, and some of them would take me up. So when we got out there I let it be known that I wanted to bet on the race. One fellow said he would bet me fifty dollars. I told him I would put up my horse against his fifty. He said alright, but I was scared to death. I thought we would lose our horses. Well, we got everything ready. I saw them start. My heart was in my mouth. But I thought we had a fair show. Both parties were strangers to the town. I soon saw that our horse was in the lead. He won by half a length, so we had $150. My partner got drunk that night but I got $50 away from him. I drank very little whiskey. So I finally got him to bed. The next day he got drunk and spent all the money that he had. He wanted me to give him some. I told him if he would promise to go to bed and leave town the next morning I would give him some money. He told me he would do it.

So the next morning we pulled out and I told him we had better go west. I didn't like that part of the country. So we went on west. The farther we went the better we liked it. We didn't have any trouble to stay overnight or get something to eat. We went on to Sherman and just after we got about one mile from town my partner got suddenly sick. So we stopped at a farmhouse. They took us in, put him to bed, sent for a doctor. We had a hard time to save his life. The doctor said he had congestive chill. That he must not get up for a week. So the farmer told us that we could stay there until he was able to travel. Well the old farmer had two grown daughters, so we put in the time very well for ten days. I was sorry when the time came to leave. Well they didn't want to charge us anything but I insisted on them to take something, and I gave them twenty-five dollars. They wanted us to stay longer, at least the girls did. So to get away from them we promised to come back in a little while. So one morning we rode away and I have never seen them since.

Well my partner said he had an old aunt living out west, that he wanted to see her. So we went out there. She was a fine old lady. So we had been there about a month. One day my partner told me he was going to stay there with his aunt. So I told him I needed money. I needed some clothes, that I would go and hunt me a job. My britches had holes in the knees and worn out in the seat. So he told me if I would get some cloth his aunt would make me a pair. So I bought some butternut jeans and she made them up for me. When she had them done I tried them on. They were a tight fit, and the seams in the legs went half way aroung. I had on a cotton shirt, so I tied a red handkerchief around my neck I tell you I was a bird. So I thought it was good enough. So I told them that I looked so much like an Indian that I would go over across Red River in the Indian Territory and stay with the Indians. They all laughed at me and I laughed too.

So I did go over in the Nation and found some work over there. Went to work for a man that had Indian blood in him, but he looked like a white man. He had cattle and horses, lots of them. So I punched cows and broke horses for him. He had a daughter. The only child in the family, his wife was

dead. He had owned slaves before the war. Some of them were still with him. They were his servants. His daughter was about eighteen years old and had a fair education, and was a good looking and a fine girl all around, and could ride like an Indian. She and I would ride horses, break them. She could break a horse good as I could. So the old man got stuck on me and so did the girl. Well I did like the girl as a friend but I didn't know whether I loved her or not.

End

The land that is now Oklahoma continued to beckon George H. Johnson and there is every evidence that he soon found employment as a hand on the Chisholm Trail. Among his papers preserved by the family are a number of news clippings about the Chisholm Trail. He apparently attended the Trail Drivers Reunion held in Enid during the summer of 1930. Among the Chisholm Trail papers of interest is a copy of a letter dated July 16, 1930, from Charles F. Colcord wherein Mr. Colcord explained carefully the exact location of the Trail. [12]

Johnson settled in the vicinity of what is now Kingfisher and there married an Indian girl [13] whose name appears to be lost from family records. By this marriage he had three children, Minnie, Frank and Nellie. The first two died in early life but Nellie survived to her eightieth year. She is buried at El Reno.

Later, probably about 1896, family records are not certain, he married Lucy Ann Irwin and to this union were born seven children, George R., Henry M., Raymond H., Allen W., Nancy Barr, Hazel Dupree and Iola Allen. All of the children are alive at this time except Raymond, who was killed in Kansas a number of years ago in an automobile accident.

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[12] Because of the wide interest in all details of the Chisholm Trail, the letter is reprinted here as an *Appendix* at the end of this article.

[13] It is interesting to speculate if the maid could be the same person Johnson mentions in the final paragraph of his journal.

While the family was growing, Johnson moved to Stillwater so that his children could get an education which to him was "something no one can take away." He later moved to Tuttle where he died at the age of eighty-one. He was buried at Minco on June 19, 1932. His wife Lucy had died two years earlier.

His son, George, now living at San Bernadino, California, recalls that the Dalton gang once stopped at his father's home in the Kingfisher area and required Johnson to exchange rifles. He recalled hearing earlier about his father using a pile of fresh buffalo hides as a hiding place from hostile Indians. When he was found he was badly frostbitten because of a blizzard that had arrived before Johnson felt it was safe to leave his hiding place.

Among his papers is a letter from David L. Spotts, whose own diary [14] of the Washita campaign has been widely used as a reference work:

646 Chestnut Avenue
Long Beach, Calif.
March 25, 1930

Mr. George H. Johnson
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Dear Comrade:

You may wonder who I am and why I am writing to you so I will explain. I was clerk of Co. L, Nineteenth Kansas Vol. Cav. but it has been such a long time ago that we have almost forgotten all about what took place over 61 years ago. I have just received a list of names with addresses of all the regiment who are now on the pension roll and had an idea the comrades would like to know how many of their companies were living and their addresses so they could write to them. I can tell you that there are only nine of Co. H on the list. Some have less and some more. Your [15] Captain David L. Payne was quite chummy with Capt. Finch [16] of my Co. and I met him there several times. Because our names were David L. Someone asked if I was a relative and he said "Yes, my son." I met him occasionally and he would say "Hello son." I

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[14] E. A. Brininstool, *Campaigning With Custer, the Dairy of David L. Spotts,* Los Angeles, 1928.

[15] Spotts was in error. Payne commanded Company H, not Company G.

[16] Capt. Charles H. Finch commanded Company L.

was small and you know how large he was. Too bad he never got to go to live in Oklahoma.

If you want the names and address of your comrades living on Feb. 15 last just say so and I will send them.

I am 82 have been in Calif. since 1873. Married 59 years. Two sons and three daughters. We are both in excellent health; what very few can say at our age. Retired since 80 years old. Wishing you and yours the best this life affords. I am ever

Your Comrade

(signed) D. L. Spotts

Whether Johnson replied to Spotts is not known but the circumstance that the letter and its envelope were carefully preserved would indicate that his days with the 19th Kansas had not been forgotten. The journal is in the possession of a granddaughter, Mrs. Delores Floyd of Oklahoma City. She is the daughter of Iola and has cooperated greatly with the Society in making the manuscript, as well as the facts on the life of her grandfather, available here.

APPENDIX

Oklahoma City, Okla.
July 16, 1930

Mr. W. T. Milburn, Sec.-Mgr.,
Chamber of Commerce,
Sayre, Okla.

Dear Sir:

I have been away for several weeks and upon returning to the office this morning, found your letter of June 16, in regard to the Chisholm trail.

In the spring of 1876 I crossed the Red River on what was then known as the Chisholm trail at Red River station, following a northwest course on a big divide and crossed Rush Creek at Moncrief ranch, owned by widow Moncrief, thence north just east of Fort Reno and on to Bull Foot spring. We crossed the Cimarron River north of Kingfisher and there was a stage rancy on the north side of this river at the mouth of Turkey Creek, run by Bill Williams of Kentucky, who married the daughter of George Washington, chief of the Caddo Indians.

From this ranch we went north to Pond Creek ranch, run by Dan Jones, where we traded a lame horse for a sack of flour. Billy Malalley also had a ranch just above the stage ranch on Pond Creek. Then we went north to Caldwell and on to Wichita. This was the only trail from Texas used by the trail drivers at that time.

I remember an incident that happened on the Chisholm trail, south of Rush Creek, which will perhaps be of interest to you. Two cowboys with the herd just ahead of ours had a row at the breakfast table one morning but were separated before either of them were hurt.

These cowboys were what were known as pointers — one riding on the left of the herd, and one on the right. This morning when they reached a high divide passing through a prairie dog town, they were seen to stop and talk while they let the herd pass between them and their horses. As the last of the drags went by, they jerked their guns and fired, both of them falling from their horses dead. Some of the boys said afterwards that it sounded as if only one shot had been fired. Both of them were buried in one grave on the west side of the Chisholm trail. A few years ago, I was in the vicinity of Rush Creek and went out to see if I could locate the graves and I found what I believe to be the prairie dog town but the graves had been completely obliterated by the thousands of herds of cattle that had passed over them. There is no question in my mind as to the location of the Chisholm trail as this was the only trail and I drove it for many years, until I believe I could go to it blindfolded.

I hope this information will be of some benefit to you.

Sincerely yours,

C. F. Colcord

CONFEDERATE VICTORY AT CHUSTO-TALASAH

*By LeRoy H. Fischer and Kenny A. Franks**

The Federal forces of Opothleyahola, the revered Creek leader, gazed apprehensively from the edge of heavy timber onto the rolling prairie. It was December 9, 1861, and the second major engagement of the Civil War in Indian Territory was about to begin. Marching in a line toward Opothleyahola's forces were the Southern troops of Colonel Douglas H. Cooper. In the center was the Ninth Texas Cavalry under Colonel William B. Sims, and on the left and right flanks the Indian regiments. On they marched to within 100 paces of the loyal Indians. The Battle of Bird Creek Falls or Caving Banks, usually known by the name of Chusto-Talasah, was soon underway near the west border of the Cherokee Nation.

From the moment the Civil War commenced in the spring of 1861, it was inevitable that the Five Civilized Tribes — the Cherokees, Creeks, Seminoles, Chickasaws, and Choctaws — of Indian Territory would be drawn into the conflict. These Indians, uprooted from their homes in the Southeast and forced into exile several decades earlier, were compelled to choose sides in this white man's war. They were looked upon as valuable sources of fighting men and supplies. Their estimated population of 63,000 could provide as many as 10,000 warriors to either army; the grain from their fields and the one-half million head of cattle pasturing on their grasslands were tempting prizes to both North and South. Regardless of the side chosen, they would pay a high price for their involvement in the war. The Cherokees, Creeks, and Seminoles lost a larger percentage of their population than did any state or territory North or South.[1]

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[1] Fairfax Downey, *Indian Wars of the U. S. Army, 1776-1865* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1963), pp. 189-190.

With the secession movement, the flow of annuities from the Federal government ceased, and the North withdrew its army garrisons from Indian Territory. The Confederate government then bid for the Indians' support. The Five Civilized Tribes were slaveholders, and the Confederacy pledged protection for both slaves and other property. However, it was not primarily the institution of slavery which bound the Indians to the South, but the influence of the Indian agents, mostly Southern sympathizers, who won them to the Southern cause.

On January 5, 1861, under these circumstances, the Chickasaw legislature proposed a conference of all the tribes to consider their position in relation to the sectional situation. When the intertribal conference met on February 17, no action was taken due to the absence of the Choctaws and the Chickasaws. A mass meeting of the Choctaws was held on February 7, at which time hope was expressed that a compromise between the North and South could be found. They did say that if they had to take sides, their choice would be with the South.[2] The Cherokees were more resistant to the Southern cause, and on May 7, 1861, their principal chief, John Ross, issued a proclamation of neutrality.[3] The Seminoles and the Creeks were perhaps the most divided in their loyalties. Old tribal feuds had split the Creeks, with the Lower Creeks under Daniel N. McIntosh supporting the Southern cause, and the Upper Creeks under Opothleyahola desiring to remain neutral.

Southern pressure and the withdrawal of all U. S. military forces from the Indian Territory by the Federal government in May, 1861, began to bear fruit for the Confederacy. Albert Pike, the newly appointed Confederate Indian commissioner, soon arrived in Indian Territory with a budget of $100,000 to be used in winning the Five Civilized Tribes to the Southern side. A man who understood Indians, Pike charged that the Northern government was planning to take the

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[2] Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942), pp. 101-102.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 102.

Indians' lands and slaves and said that they could find protection only with the South.[4] At North Fork Town on July 10 and 11, 1861, representatives of the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations and the McIntosh faction of the Creeks entered into treaties with the Confederate government. Opothleyahola and other loyal Creek leaders were not present at the signing of the treaty since they had left North Fork Town and gone west to attend a council with some of the Plains tribes assembled near the Antelope Hills. Pike, accompanied by Indian Superintendent Elias Rector and the Seminole Agent Samuel M. Rutherford, moved to the Seminole Agency (site near present Trousdale in Pottawatomie County) where he entered into a treaty with the Southern faction of the Seminoles led by John Jumper. Pike still lacked a treaty with the powerful Cherokees. Disunity within this tribe, provided by the John Ross faction and its rival led by Stand Watie, coupled with the notable Confederate victory at the Battle of Wilson's Creek, succeeded in bringing them into the Southern fold on October 7, 1861, when a formal treaty was signed by the Cherokees assembled in council near the home of John Ross. [5]

When Opothleyahola and other Creeks returned from the Indian council at Antelope Hills, they learned that their names had been attached to the Creek-Confederate treaty without authority. Bitterly opposing this treaty, Opothleyahola urged that neutrality be preserved. The supporters of this stand rallied under his leadership to register their convictions and resist pressures to force them into McIntosh's secessionist faction. Their defection and refusal to join the McIntosh group in its allegiance to the Confederate cause raised great concern in the Southern camp. Opothleyahola and the Upper Creeks were thus driven to

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[4] Jay Monaghan, *Civil War on the Western Border, 1854-1865* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1955), p. 213.

[5] Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma,* pp. 103-105; Pike's complete treaty negotiations are in Robert Lipscomb Duncan, *Reluctant General: The Life and Times of Albert Pike* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1961), pp. 168-184.

(Oklahoma Historical Society)

COLONEL DANIEL N. McINTOSH

As commander of the First Confederate Creek Regiment in the Battle of Chusto-Talasah, Colonel McIntosh occupied the left Southern flank. His unit charged the Federal Indians with eagerness and engaged them in hand-to-hand combat.

declare a positive position, and they chose a stance steadfastly loyal to the Union. [6]

Opothleyahola saw a hostile cordon closing around his followers. Faced by a choice between submission, massacre, or withdrawal to safety in the Cherokee Nation or Kansas, he began to gather his forces near present Eufaula. There his band was joined by a group of loyal Seminoles who, like the Creeks, had divided over the question of secession. Under Billy Bowlegs and Alligator, those desiring to remain loyal to the Union flocked to Opothleyahola's standard. These loyal Indians numbered less than 2,000 armed men plus their families. Many had left their homes in such haste that they carried almost nothing with them, while others salvaged such personal effects as they could load on their wagons and ponies. Little children, the aged, and the sick rode between bundles on the wagons or wherever they could find room on the backs of horses, and the others traveled on foot. Runaway slaves from other tribes joined the throng. With mounting Southern pressure to prevent their escape, it became necessary to begin their migration northward. Opothleyahola decided he must act, and on November 5, 1861, he set in motion his colorful cavalcade of Indians, Negroes, covered wagons, ox teams, carriages, buggies, and droves of livestock. [7]

These refugees would not be permitted to leave their homeland without thoroughly experiencing war at its worst. Colonel Douglas H. Cooper, the Choctaw-Chickasaw Indian agent, had been placed temporarily in command of Confederate troops in Indian Territory; and on November 15, 1861, he set out in search of Opothleyahola and his followers. His force consisted of approximately 1,400 men, and was composed of six companies of the First Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment commanded by him, the Creek Regiment commanded by Colonel Daniel N. McIntosh, the

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[6] John Bartlett Meserve, "Chief Opothleyahola," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, No. 4 (December, 1931), pp. 445-446.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 446-447.

Creek and Seminole Battalion under Lieutenant Colonel Chilly McIntosh and Major John Jumper, and a detachment of the Ninth Texas Calvary under Lieutenant Colonel William Quayle. Colonel Cooper stated in his account of the campaign against Opothleyahola that he had "exhausted every means" in his power "to procure an interview with Opothleyahola for the purpose of effecting a peaceful settlement of the difficulty existing between his party and the constituted authorities of the Creek Nation," but was "treated with silence, if not contempt." [8]

Although the Confederates found Opothleyahola's camp in the area a few miles north of present Eufaula deserted, they discovered a well-marked trail leading to the north and west. Moving west from Fort Gibson and crossing the Arkansas on the morning of November 15, 1861, Cooper's forces continued along the Deep Fork of the Canadian River and first encountered the loyal Indians at Round Mountain on the morning of November 19, 1861. Cooper captured some of the stragglers and learned from them that Opothleyahola's followers were near the Red Fork (present Cimarron) of the Arkansas River. There was skirmishing all day between the two forces as Cooper followed the Indians moving north toward the Red Fork which he crossed late in the afternoon on the same day. He made his camp about two miles north of the river crossing (site of old Mannford) on the Red Fork. In the meantime, a detachment of Texas Cavalry had charged ahead early in the day, had crossed the Red Fork, and about 4:00 p.m., had come upon a deserted Indian camp. The Texans pursued some Indians along a trail toward the northwest nearly four miles before locating the camp of the main body of Opothleyahola's forces. When the Texas cavalry charged and fired into the camp, a large force of armed Indian warriors returned the fire and forced the Texans to retreat. It was dark night when the retreating

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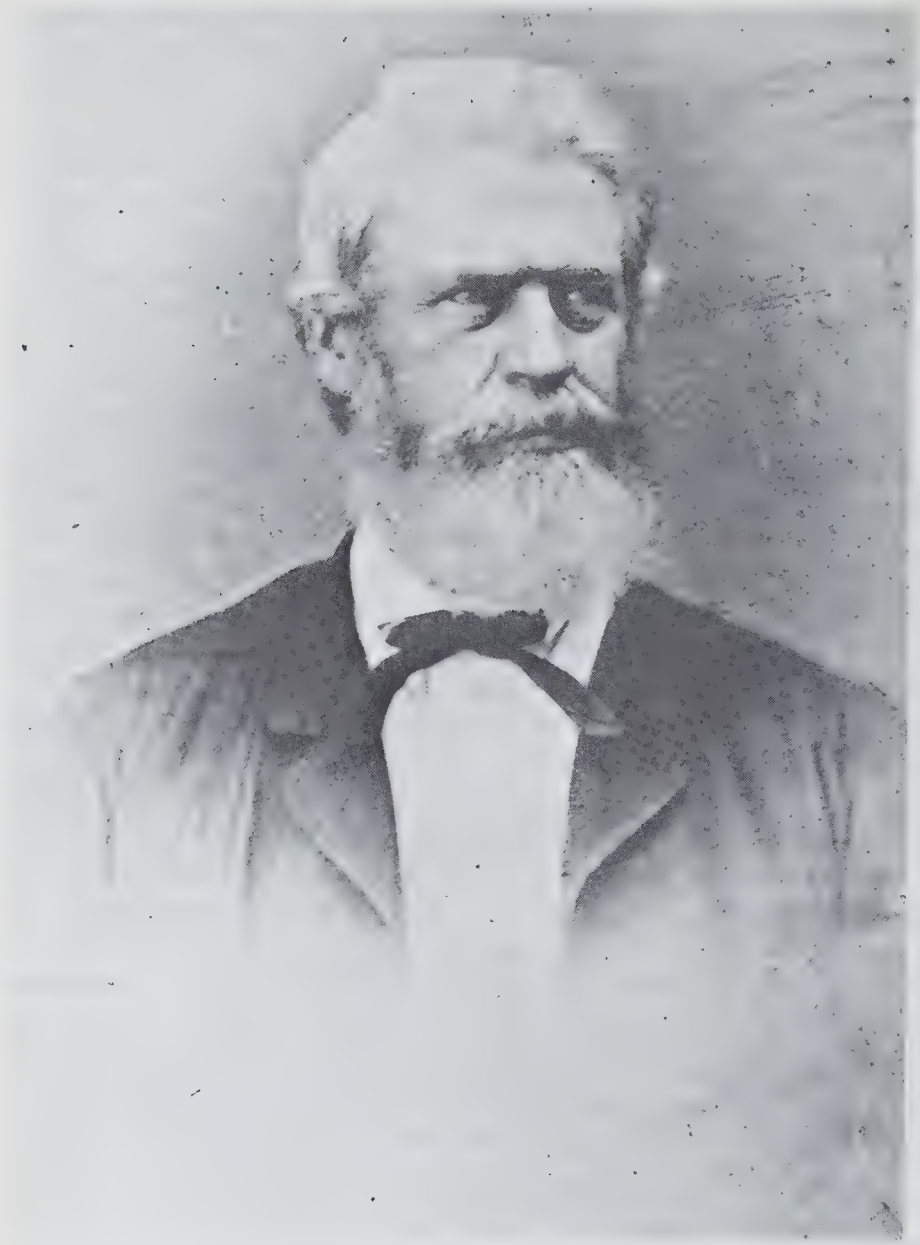
[8] Douglas H. Cooper to Judah P. Benjamin, January 20, 1862, United States Department of War, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (4 series, 70 volumes, 128 books, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Ser. i, Vol. VIII, p. 5. Hereafter cited as *Official Records.*



(Library of Congress)

COLONEL DOUGLAS H. COOPER

At Chusto-Talasah, Cooper served as the Confederate commander. He believed that this victory proved that the valor of his troops could not be overcome by superior numbers of Federal Indians.

cavalrymen in the midst of gunfire fell back through the woods to Cooper's camp and a last blaze of the Indian warrior's line of guns ended the fighting in the Battle of Round Mountain that had begun on the morning of the same day, November 19. Cooper reported that the Indian warriors had lost 110 killed and wounded, and his own Confederate troops lost 7 killed, 4 wounded, and one missing. Most important to Opothleyahola's forces was the loss of supplies at their camp. When Cooper's forces entered the Indian camp (5 miles north of the Red Fork) the next morning, they found "the chief's buggy, 12 wagons, flour, sugar, coffee, salt, etc., besides many cattle and ponies." [9]

After this engagement, Cooper was ordered by Brigadier General Ben McCulloch to a position near the Arkansas line to meet a threatened attack by a Federal army in Missouri, and Opothleyahola's forces were thus allowed to continue their flight northward. Cooper soon learned that the Federals had withdrawn and at once resumed his campaign against the loyal Indians. By this time his command had been reduced to 780 men: 430 men of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment, 50 men of the Choctaw Battalion, 285 men of the Creek Regiment, and 15 men of Captain James M. C. Smith's Creek company. Colonel John Drew was ordered south from Coody's Bluff to join Cooper somewhere on the road to James McDaniels' house, and Colonel William B. Sims on the Verdigris River east of Tulsey Town was directed to join him at David Van's house. These forces failed to join, however, and Cooper marched north to the Caney River, then turned west toward Bird Creek where, at about noon on Sunday, December 8, he found Drew encamped. [10]

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[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 5-7. For notes and references to the three battles between Col. D. H. Cooper's Confederate forces and Opothleyahola's Indian followers, see *Civil War Sites in Oklahoma* by Muriel H. Wright and LeRoy H. Fischer (Oklahoma Historical Society, 1967), (1) "Round Mountain Engagement . . ." (Tulsa County), pp. 51-52; (2) "Chusto-Talasah Engagement . . ." (Tulsa County), pp. 52-53; (3) "Chustenahlah Engagement . . ." (Osage County), p. 46.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 7; R. W. Lee to John Drew, December 2, 1861, Cooper to Drew, December 4, 1861, and Drew to Cooper, December 5, 1861, Grant Foreman Collection, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

The precise area where the opposing forces were about to engage in battle is difficult to determine. According to descriptions of the battle site given by the various commanders and their references to the Bird Creek Falls and the High Shoals, the battle area can be generally located as stretching from the two large dry ravines from the east which empty into Bird Creek below the falls and Delaware Creek, which flows into Bird Creek from the west. These three points of identification are in Section 29, Township 21 North, Range 13 East, and probably mark the extreme southern end of the battle area. The tip of the bend and the burial hillside are immediately north of the falls in Section 20. The mouth of Hominy Creek in Section 18 may have been the northern limit of the engagement.[11]

Colonel Drew brought with him about 480 men of the First Regiment of Cherokee Mounted Rifles, and with Drew's arrival Cooper had a force of approximately 1,360 men.[12] Cooper went into camp about two miles below Drew on the west bank of Bird Creek. The loyal Indians were camped about four miles farther to the south on Bird Creek.[13]

Upon joining Drew, Cooper was informed that Opothleyahola had sent a message expressing a desire to make peace. Circumstantial evidence suggests that Opothleyahola was not with his forces in the field at this time, contrary to what the Confederates thought, or present at any of the three battles in the 1861 Indian Territory campaign.[14] Cooper sent a reply to Opothleyahola with the

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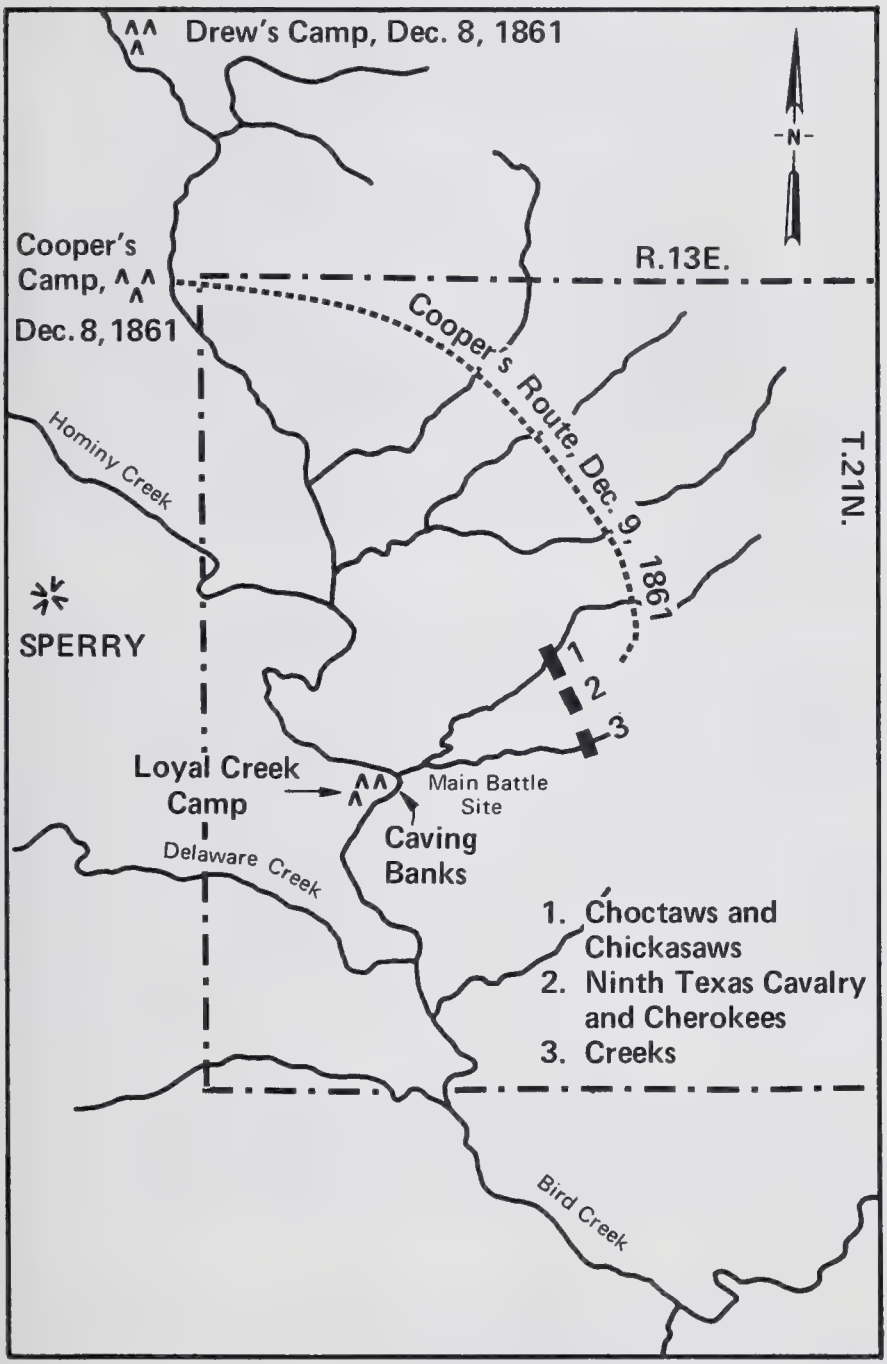
[11] Louise M. Whitham, "Recent Activities of the Tulsa Historical Society," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXI, No. 1 (March, 1943), p. 69.

[12] Drew to Cooper, December 18, 1861, *Official Records,* Ser. i, Vol. VIII, pp. 16-17.

[13] Cooper to Benjamin, January 20, 1862, *Official Records,* Ser. i, Vol. VIII, pp. 7-8.

[14] Opothleyahola was usually in advance of his band of refugees, who were led by his war chiefs, such as Billy Bowlegs, John Chupco, Halleck Tuskenuggee, and Little Captain. From various locations, Opothleyahola directed the movements of his forces and carried on a variety of negotia-



(LeRoy H. Fischer and Kenny A. Franks)

BATTLE OF CHUSTO-TALASAH, DECEMBER 9, 1861

(Site in Tulsa County)

assurance that he did not desire the shedding of blood among the Indians and proposed a conference to be held the next day. Major Thomas Pegg of the Cherokee regiment was to bear this message.[15] Pegg was accompanied on the peace mission by Captains George W. Scraper and J. P. Davis, and the Reverend Lewis Downing. Late in the evening before the mission returned, Colonel Drew found that there were only about sixty men remaining in his camp and a report was circulating that they were to be attacked by an overwhelming force. While in the process of saddling his horse, Drew was informed by Captain Pickens M. Benge that Opothleyahola's forces were upon them. With this information, Drew and his small force of Cherokees mounted and started for Cooper's camp. After proceeding a part of the way, they returned to their original camp and secured the ammunition they had hastily left behind.[16]

Upon returning to this camp, Drew found Major Pegg, who had just returned from his mission to Opothleyahola. Pegg stated that he did not see Opothleyahola. He also reported that he had seen a large number of warriors painted for battle, and that an attack was imminent that night. Pegg said that he was allowed to return only on the plea of removing some women and children from danger; with this information the remainder of Drew's force dispersed in squads. Some of the Cherokees, including Major Pegg, Adjutant James S. Vann, Captains J. P. Davis and J. D. Hicks, Lieutenants S. H. Smith, Jesse Henry, Anderson Benge, Trotting Wolf, and several privates made their way to Fort Gibson. The others fled to Opothleyahola's camp and joined his band. Among these were a Captain Vann, Albert Pike, George W. Scaper, and Lieutenants White-Catcher, Eli Smith, Samuel Foster, John Bearmeat, and Nathan Fish. These

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tions. See Muriel H. Wright, "Colonel Cooper's Report on the Battle of Round Mountain," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 4 (Winter, 1961-1962), pp. 352-397, especially pp. 359, 369, 384; Cooper to Benjamin, January 20, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. VIII, pp. 8, 13.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[16] Drew to Cooper, December 18, 1861, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. VIII, p. 17.

officers took parts of their companies. The dispersion of Drew's regiment was due to the indisposition of these Cherokees to engage in strife with their immediate neighbors and the panic caused by the rumored attack upon them. They had fled, leaving their tents standing, and in many instances forgetting even their horses and guns. [17]

About 7:00 that night Colonel Cooper received word of the Cherokee action. He also was told of the impending attack by Opothleyahola's warriors. Soon the Cherokee wagon master and his teamsters brought into Cooper's camp a portion of Drew's train and provisions. Cooper then ordered Lieutenant Colonel William Quayle, along with a squadron of Texas cavalry, to proceed to Drew's relief and report on the condition of his camp. Drew soon appeared in camp with only twenty-eight members of his regiment and confirmed the reports of the Cherokee desertion. Upon receiving this information, Cooper prepared to defend his own camp against the expected attack by deploying his command for combat. His forces remained under arms the entire night, quietly awaiting the enemy, but no attack occurred. Soon after daylight, Acting Assistant Adjutant General Roswell W. Lee, along with a small party, was ordered to proceed to Drew's camp, where he found it still standing and apparently untouched. Colonel Drew with the Cherokees, a portion of the Texas cavalry, and few Choctaws, returned to Cooper's main force with the camp equipment and other property. [18]

At about 11:00 a.m. Cooper, moving east, recrossed Bird Creek and turned southward. He hoped to occupy a position which would allow him to keep open his communications with the supply depot located at Coweta Mission and to

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[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18; Cooper to Benjamin, January 20, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. VIII, p. 8. About 300 of Drew's Cherokee deserters made overtures to return to Drew's unit after the Battle of Chusto-Talasah. See Drew to John Ross, December 16, 1861, Grant Foreman Collection, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art.

[18] Cooper to Benjamin, January 20, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. VIII, p. 8.

establish contact with his reenforcements of Creeks, Seminoles, and Choctaws, who were marching from Tulsey Town to join him. As he began his march southward, Cooper dispatched Captain Abram Foster with two companies of the Creek Regiment towards Parks' Store on Shoal Creek. They were to search for Captain Robert C. Parks, who had led a scouting party the previous night to the rear of Opothleyahola's camp to determine whether the loyal Indians had moved down from the mountains. After they had marched south down Bird Creek for about five miles, two runners from Captain Foster informed Cooper that Opothleyahola's warriors had been located in force by Captain Parks. The runners also reported that Parks had exchanged fire, captured six prisoners, and was withdrawing hotly pursued toward the main column. [19]

As word of this encounter reached Cooper, firing was heard toward the rear of his forces. The Cherokee wagon train was immeditely ordered parked on the prairie under sufficient guard. Next Cooper formed his forces into three columns: the Choctaws and Chickasaws on the right, the Texans and Cherokees in the center, and the Creeks on the left. The Southern units then advanced at a quick gallop toward Opothleyahola's forces, located along the timber skirting the main creek for over two miles and in the ravine extending into the prairie. Meanwhile, Cooper's rear guard, consisting of a squadron of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment under Captain R. A. Young, repulsed an attack of about 200 loyal Indians. [20]

Opothleyahola's main camp was likely on the west side of Bird Creek in a horseshoe bend. His warriors were dispersed on the east side of the creek, concealed both above and below the main camp among the heavy timber. To their advantage, the creek was so deep that it could only be forded at certain points, and the loyal Indians, knowing of these fords, could cross and recross the creek at will, while the

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] *Ibid.*

Southern forces could not. [21]

Colonel Cooper ordered the leading companies of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment, under Captains Willis Jones and Jackson McCurtain, to form a junction with the squadron under Captain Young. Colonel Daniel N. McIntosh and his Creek Regiment were ordered to turn the right flank of Opothleyahola on the creek. The loyal Indians located in the ravine on the prairie were engaged by the Choctaws and Texans across the open ground between it and the timber on the creek. [22]

The position held by the loyal Indians was described by Cooper as presenting "almost insurmountable obstacles to our troops." The creek bank on the side of the Southern approach was abrupt and precipitous, and some thirty feet in height. At places it was cut into steps, which formed a complete parapet offering protection for the loyal Indians. The area was densely covered with heavy timber, matted undergrowth, and thickets. To these natural defenses the loyal Indians had added logs, which provided additional fortification. Near the center of Opothleyahola's line was a dwelling house, a small corncrib, and a rail fence located in a recess of the prairie, at the gorge of a bend in the creek. The fence was between 400 and 500 yards in length, and the bend was thickly wooded and covered near the house with tall interwoven weeds and grass. This undergrowth extended to a bench from behind which the loyal Indians concealed themselves and poured a deadly fire on the advancing Southern forces. The creek banks on either side covered the house by flank and reverse, providing interwoven fields of fire. [23]

The battle was a series of thrusts and counterthrusts

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[21] Dean Trickett, "The Civil War in Indian Territory, 1861," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XVIII, No. 3 (September, 1940), pp. 273-274.

[22] Cooper to Benjamin, January 20, 1862, *Official Records,* Ser. i, Vol. VIII, pp. 8-9.

[23] *Ibid.,* p. 9.

combined with flanking movements, with the advantage switching from side to side as both forces momentarily gained the initiative. Colonel Daniel N. McIntosh and the First Creek Regiment, positioned on the left of the Confederate battleline, eagerly charged the loyal Indians and engaged them in hand-to-hand combat, driving them from their position in the timber and dispersing them in every direction. After receiving word of continued fighting on the right, McIntosh reformed his command on the prairie and moved to a position to aid Cooper in that location. [24]

At the first alarm of the attack on the Confederate rear guard, the First Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment turned to the right of the line of march and formed into line. At this moment the loyal Indians began falling back to the creek. The Choctaws and Chickasaws then formed two abreast and proceeded by rapid march for about a mile and half in pursuit of the fleeing Federal forces. Crossing the prairie, the Southern forces halted about 100 paces from the bank of the creek, where they dismounted, charged to the edge of the creek, and opened fire on the loyal Indians. Almost immediately they were ordered to move to the left and assault the position around the house, which they occupied in spite of the scattering of their regiment along the creek. Captain Jackson McCurtain was then ordered to withdraw and assist Captain Willis Jones' company engaged in the ravine. While this fighting raged, the order for withdrawal was again given; due to the confusion, the order was not passed to all the men of Jones' unit, resulting in some being left behind. Captain McCurtain and Lieutenant James Riley were among these, but they succeeded in escaping even though they were the last to come out. [25]

The condition of the battle area added to the confusion of the Southern forces, already hampered by their disorganization. "The mode of warfare adopted by the

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[24] Daniel N. McIntosh to Cooper, December 16, 1861, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. VIII, p. 16.

[25] McCurtain to Cooper, January 18, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. VIII, pp. 20-21.

(Oklahoma Historical Society)

CAPTAIN JACKSON McCURTAIN

At Chusto-Talasah, McCurtain commanded a company of the Confederate Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment which took part in the severe fighting around the small house occupying the center of the Federal line.

enemy compelled us," explained Captain William B. Pitchlynn of the First Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment, "to abandon strict military discipline and make use of somewhat similar movements in order to be succesful." [26]

The Ninth Texas Cavalry under Colonel William B. Sims occupied the center of the Southern line. Sims divided his regiment of about 260 men into two divisions. One division was made up of about fifty men of Captain Thomas G. Berry's company commanded by himself; smaller detachments from Captain Jackson E. McCool's company under Lieutenant D. B. Brown; Captain William Hart's company under Lieutenant R. H. Black; Captain M. J. Brinson's company under Lieutenant T. L. Utley; and a portion of a Captain William's company under Moses B. Bowen. This force, numbering about 100 men, was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel William Quayle. The remainder of the regiment was kept under Sims' command. It consisted of four companies under the command of Captains W. E. Duncan, James N. English, J. D. Wright, and Gideon Smith. [27]

Almost simultaneously with the actions of the Creeks, Choctaws, and Chickasaws on the flanks, Lieutenant Colonel Quayle and his unit of Texas cavalry advanced to the creek, on the left of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment. Not finding the forces of Opothleyahola there, he maneuvered to the right of the Choctaws and Chickasaws and engaged some loyal Indians located in the ravine. Driving them from their position, Quayle moved farther to the right and encountered a portion of the Cherokees and Creeks who had deserted from Drew's command the previous evening. Charging their position, which was located in still another ravine, Quayle succeeded in routing them, although a heavy fire was maintained upon his troops by a party of loyal Indians concealed still farther out on his right flank. [28]

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[26] Pitchlynn to Cooper, January 18, 1862, *Official Records,* Ser. i, Vol. VIII, p. 21.

[27] Cooper to Benjamin, December 15, 1861, *Official Records,* Ser. i, Vol. VIII, p. 18.

[28] *Ibid.,* p. 18.

The other unit of Texas cavalry under Sims dismounted and charged to the right of Colonel McIntosh and the First Creek Regiment. After routing the loyal Indians without a shot, Simms remounted and moved about half a mile down the creek, still to the left of McIntosh's troops. Once again on foot, Sims charged the creek bottom and forced the loyal Indians to withdraw. He then remounted his men, but with an advance of the loyal Indians, dismounted, charged down the creek, and threw the enemy back. Sims then moved on horseback up the creek about one mile and rejoined Quayle. At this point they were heavily engaged by Federal fire, and with the withdrawal of the Creeks and Choctaws, Sims ordered his men to also withdraw and remount. He then charged the loyal Indians and succeeded in getting his wounded off the field. With this action, his unit then reformed on the prairie. [29]

In the meantime, the Choctaws and Chickasaws under Captain R. A. Young engaged a large force of loyal Indians about the house. After succeeding in driving them from their stronghold, they pursued them far into the bend of the creek. It was at this point that the loyal Indians opened an unexpected fire on the flank of the Southern forces. The Choctaws and Chickasaws were forced to withdraw to the house, where they took up defensive positions. Captain Young's force of 100 men then received reenforcements from the companies of Captains Lemuel M. Reynolds, Jackson McCurtain, and Joseph R. Hall. With these additional troops, the Choctaws and Chickasaws again advanced and, after a fierce struggle, forced the loyal Indians through the bend and across the creek. [30]

Rallying once again, the loyal Indians directed their fire from the creek on the right and rear of the Southern forces, compelling another retreat to the house. The engagement was now at close quarters and raged with great intensity on both sides for about half an hour. The loyal Indians made an

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[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19; Cooper to Benjamin, January 20, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. VIII, p. 9.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

(Oklahoma Historical Society)

SITE OF THE CONFEDERATE VICTORY AT CHUSTO-TALASAH

Located in the center is the house around which the Federal Indians organized their defenses, and Bird Creek across which the Confederates charged. It was here that the most furious fighting of the battle took place.

attempt toward the horses of the Southern forces, causing a shift of the battle in that direction. The Choctaws and Chickasaws again formed in line some distance in front of the house, where they were joined by a detachment of Creeks under Colonel Daniel N. McIntosh. With these fresh reenforcements, the Southerners charged once more and closed the battle. After lasting nearly four hours, the firing had stopped. The loyal Indians retreated from the entire front, and as the sun was setting, Colonel Cooper withdrew his men and marched to camp nearby. The Battle of Chusto-Talasah had come to an end.[31]

Confederate losses during the battle were placed at 15 killed and 37 wounded, out of a total force engaged of not more than 1,100. The remainder of Cooper's forces was utilized as a strong guard for the Cherokee wagon train. The loyal Indians of Opothleyahola were estimated at over 2,500. Several Cherokee prisoners placed their strength at 4,000, an estimate substantiated by Major Pegg, who based his opinion on his visit to Opothleyahola's camp. Whatever the number of Opothleyahola's forces, Cooper's claim of over 500 killed or wounded was exaggerated, although prisoners admitted to losses numbering 412. Cooper praised the battle for breaking the spirit of the loyal Indians. He felt they had learned that their superior numbers could not compensate for the determined valor of his troops, whom they could not successfully meet in combat.[32]

The Confederate forces camped for the night after the battle on the prairie east of the creek. The next morning the Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment, the Creek Regiment, Colonel Drew and his Cherokees, and a portion of the Texas Regiment returned to the battlefield, but found that the loyal Indians had fled to the mountains. Cooper sent his wounded under Colonel Sims to Van's house and, after burying his dead, encamped again for the night a few miles

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[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11; T. B. M. to Mamma, December 23, 1861, Grant Foreman Collection, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art.

from the battlefield, on the route of march to Van's. The Confederate campaign against the loyal Indians was again discontinued, due to a shortage of ammunition among the Southern forces.

On the night of December 10, Cooper joined Drew at Van's, where he learned of a band of about 100 Cherokees who had passed by the night before on their way to join Opothleyahola.[33] Because of the spreading defection of Cherokees to Opothleyahola's standard, Cooper was forced to place his command in a position to counteract any movement by the Cherokees to join with the loyal Indians. Colonel Drew and his wagon train, along with Colonel Sims and the Fourth Texas Cavalry, were ordered to Fort Gibson, while the Creek and Choctaw Regiment proceeded by way of Tulsey Town down the Arkansas River. In the meantime, Colonel James McIntosh,[34] in winter quarters at Van Buren, Arkansas, was sent an urgent request for reenforcements. Cooper himself, with the main body of troops, marched to Choska in the Creek Nation and encamped. Then Cooper proceeded with two companies of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment to a point opposite Fort Gibson. The knowledge of the closeness of these forces suppressed any outward show of Cherokee sympathy for the loyal Indians.

Meanwhile, Opothleyahola's Union forces had withdrawn from the battle area on the night of December 9. They retreated northwest some twenty miles to a position near Hominy Falls, where they entrenched themselves, awaiting the Southern forces and reenforcements of loyal Indians. [35]

While remaining at Fort Gibson to confer with Chief John Ross concerning the Cherokees, Cooper replenished his supplies and ammunition from the Confederate depot at Fort

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[33] Cooper to Benjamin, January 20, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. VIII, pp. 10-11.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 11. (Ref., James McQueen McIntosh, C.S.A., Scot and Native of Fla.)

[35] Meserve, "Chief Opothleyahola," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, p. 449.

Smith, Arkansas, and awaited the arrival of much needed reenforcements. Colonel James McIntosh had informed him of the dispatch of fifteen companies of additional troops for his command. This force consisted of seven companies of Colonel William C. Young's regiment, five companies of Colonel Elkanah Greer's regiment, and Major J. W. Whitfield's battalion of three companies. Much to his surprise, Cooper received word on December 20 of Colonel McIntosh's intention of taking the field with some 2,000 troops in a campaign against Opothleyahola's band. [36]

Cooper made no objections to McIntosh's plans, and provided him with information "as to the situation of Hopoeithleyohola's camp and the surrounding country." The two agreed upon a campaign which called for one column to move up the Arkansas River and the other up the Verdigris River. Cooper then moved to Choska, where he ordered Colonel Drew to join him. On December 22 and 23 McIntosh began his march to Mrs. McNair's house on the Verdigris River, which he hoped to reach by December 24. Cooper was to meet him there, but commented that McIntosh's "well-appointed command was too fast for mine." Though the proposed meeting was not possible, Cooper dispatched Colonel Stand Watie to provide additional troops for McIntosh's command. McIntosh, however, resumed his march without Watie, and on December 26 attacked Opothleyahola's camp, located about twenty-five miles from Mrs. McNair's. [37]

This engagement, known as the Battle of Chustenahlah, was another defeat for the loyal Indians. Opothleyahola's forces suffered the worst setback of the entire campaign. The losses to the loyal Indians were placed at 250 killed, while 160 women and children, 20 Negroes, 30 wagons, 70 yoke of oxen, about 500 ponies, several hundred cattle, 100 sheep,

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[36] Cooper to Benjamin, January 20, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. VIII, p. 11; McIntosh to Cooper, December 14, 1861, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. VIII, p. 713.

[37] Cooper to Benjamin, January 20, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. VIII, p. 12.

and much personal property were captured. In order to avoid being pursued, Opothleyahola alledgedly scattered his remaining forces and instructed them to meet him at the big bend of the Arkansas River, from where they would go on to Kansas.[38]

The next day, however, Watie chased the fleeing Indians and in a running fight killed fifteen. The loyal Indians were thus in headlong flight toward Kansas. Colonel Cooper then took up the chase; in a seven day scout, he covered the "entire country lately occupied by Hopoeithleyohola's forces." The result of this expedition was 6 more loyal Indians killed and 150 prisoners taken, mostly women and children. After this march, Cooper reported "the total dispersing in the direction of Walnut Creek, Kansas,...thus securing the repose of the fromtier for the winter."[39]

The weather was intensely cold, and with a bitter northwest wind in their faces, Opothleyahola's beaten refugee band traveled northward over snow-covered roads all night and the next day without halting to rest. They had lost all of their teams, most of their valuable effects, and a large portion of their ponies. Many families had become separated during the battle, a great number were captured in the confusion, most were without shoes, and many were very thinly clad. Their suffering was immense and beyond description. Quite a number froze to death and with their bodies covered by a shroud of snow, they were left where they fell to feed the hungry wolves.[40]

With the disastrous defeat of the loyal Indians at the Battle of Chustenahlah, Opothleyahola's migration toward

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[38] Report of James McIntosh, January 1, 1862, *Official Records,* Ser. i, Vol. VIII, p. 24; J. S. Murrow to Hornady, January 11, 1862, Grant Foreman Collection, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art.

[39] Cooper to Benjamin, January 20, 1862, *Official Records,* Ser. i, Vol. VIII, pp. 12-13.

[40] "Report of the Secretary of the Interior," *Executive Documents No. 1,* Third Session, Thirty-seventh Congress, Vol. 2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1862), p. 283.

(Oklahoma Historical Society)

OPOTHLEYAHOLA

The revered elder statesman of the Upper Creeks and organizer of the Federal refugees.

Kansas was turned into a rout. His forces had fought three engagements since leaving Eufaula, and in each one his ammunition, supplies, and manpower had been reduced. Cooper, although faced with the same problem, could depend upon reenforcements from the Southern garrisons in Arkansas and more recruits from those Indians in Indian Territory supporting the Southern cause. After the Battle of Chusto-Talasah, Colonel James McIntosh had not only sent fifteen additional companies to Cooper as reenforcements and replenished his ammunition and supplies immediately, but brought a force of about 2,000 under his personal command to join the campaign against the loyal Indians.

While the Southern forces could depend upon both reenforcements and resupply, these resources were not available to Opothleyahola. Aside from approximately 100 Cherokees who joined him after the Battle of Chusto-Talasah and a portion of Drew's command which had deserted to his banner the night before the battle, his forces remained approximately the same as those with which he began his exodus from the Creek Nation. The losses in manpower at Round Mountain and Chusto-Talasah, though not as great as Cooper claimed, were substantial, and the ammunition spent was irreplaceable. The Battle of Chusto-Talasah spelled disaster for the loyal Indians, even though Opothleyahola's band succeeded in continuing an orderly withdrawal north toward Kansas. Thus in the Battle of Chustenahlah, the next and final engagement of the campaign, the Federal forces of Opothleyahola were unable to stand up to the reenforced and resupplied Southern units.[41] Therefore, in the 1861 campaign to win ascendancy in Indian Territory, the Confederate victory at Chusto-Talasah was of much importance, perhaps even more significant for the South than Confederate supremacy at Chustenahlah.

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[41] Cooper to Benjamin, January 20, 1862, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. VIII, p. 11; Drew to Cooper, December 18, 1861, *Official Records*, Ser. i, Vol. VIII, p. 17.

KIOWA — FEDERAL RELATIONS IN KANSAS, 1865-1868

*By Forrest D. Monahan, Jr.**

For three and one-half years following the Civil War the Kiowa maintained constant and relatively peaceful contact with settlers along the Arkansas River in Kansas, which at this time was the tribe's northern border. Three army posts, Forts Atkinson, Larned, and Zarah, were centers of contact; in addition white traders dispersed south of the Santa Fe Trail, bringing goods to the Indians for which the latter exchanged buffalo hides and horses. Another source of trade supplies was the Federal Government which annually made an annuity payment in goods and food according to treaty stipulations.[1] Protecting this stable contact in Kansas was a major theme of Kiowa tribal diplomacy. Best known as a warrior tribe which for two generations had prosecuted a bloody war with their Comanche allies against the advancing frontier in Texas,[2] the tribe now exerted all its efforts to maintain peace in Kansas. Several factors contributed to the Kiowa success in this tricky enterprise. Important was their ability in convincing skeptical settlers who heard of Indian raids into Texas. The tribe had also to maintain the friendship of their northern allies, the Cheyenne, who were more directly affected by the frontier invasion since Western Kansas was the center of the tribal hunting grounds. The

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[1] Charles J. Kappler, comp. and ed., *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, II (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 600-602, 892-895. Cited hereinafter as Kappler, *Laws and Treaties.*

[2] For the frontier settlers' view of Kiowa raids into Texas, see the annual report for the Indian Bureau since 1850: Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report* (Washington, Government Printing Office). For the Kiowa view see James Mooney, *Calendar History of the Kiowa;* Bureau of American Ethnology, *Seventeenth Annual Report for 1895-96* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898), pp. 269-326. Hereinafter referred to as Mooney, *Calendar History.*

Cheyenne bitterly fought with the Kansas whites and tried to induce the Kiowa to join this war.

An increasing flow of supplies passed from Kansas to the tribe during these years. Government issues contained metal cooking utensils, food, decorative articles as beads, and occasionally firearms, though these were not the latest models in guns.[3] Private wagons brought goods of high interest to the Kiowa. Many of the salesmen's articles duplicated the Government's: Utensils, coffee, flour, and beads. Unlike the Federal authorities, the traders had no scruples in arming the Indians with the latest type of munitions, so long as they received good pay in Indian horses and buffalo hides.[4] Substantial quantities of arms and munitions passed from White to Red hands. The agitated commander of Fort Dodge, Major Henry Douglass, wrote to his superiors: "The issue and sale of arms and ammunition such as Breech-loading Carbines and Revolvers, Powder and Lead (Loose and in Cartridges) and Percussion Caps continues without intermission.... Charley Roth, a trader, who lives at Zarah has armed several bands of Kiowas with Revolvers and has completely overstocked them with Powder."[5]

So that for this tribe there was a binding relationship between peace in Kansas and war in Texas. The difference of

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[3] Receipt for goods given by Superintendent Branch to Agent S. G. Colley, August 2, 1862; Field Office Records; Letters Received by the Central Superintendency; National Archives, Record Group 75, Washington, D. C. Hereinafter the Central Superintendency Records will be referred to as LR, Central Superintendency. The National Archives will be abbreviated to NA; Record Group will be referred to as RG followed by the appropriate number.

See also Invoice of drygoods bought of Cronin, Hurxthal, and Sears for Upper Arkansas Indians, April 7, 1860; Invoice of groceries and ammunition furnished by Thomas E. Tutt for Upper Arkansas Indians, May 1, 1860; Field Office Records, LR, Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75.

[4] Affidavit of F. F. Jones, February 9, 1867; Ft. Dodge Letterbook; Army Records; NA, RG 98. Hereinafter, the term Army Records will be dropped from the Letterbook references.

[5] Major Henry Douglass to Assistant Adjutant General (Hereinafter AAG), January 13, 1867; Ft. Dodge Letterbook; NA, RG 98.

Kiowa behavior in the north and south partly explains the conflict between the Army and the Indian Bureau. Until 1868 the Bureau's contact with the Kiowa was primarily in Kansas. And it heard of the south second hand, from the Army or from the Indians. It acted with energy only when confronted with direct evidence of misbehavior, as when the Indians turned up with White Texan captives.

Government policy had three major aims. The first was to "civilize" the Kiowa changing them into white Indians. Frustrated by their nomadic life, it made only occasional efforts towards this end until the disappearance of the buffalo. The government worked to its other aims: to remove the tribes from their land and to make them cease their wars. It had two powerful, though often conflicting, means to obtain its will among them: the Army and annuity goods. Force struck terror among the Indians, and their desire and needs for goods for daily living made them sensitive to any change in annuity policy.

Government policy and Kiowa intransigence met in the Council held at the mouth of the Little Arkansas River in October, 1965. Major General John B. Sanborn opened the meeting with Government demands. The Kiowa could have peace only if they gave up much of their land, and returned white captives obtained in Texas.[6] The Kiowa protested. The elder Dohasan, principal chief of the Kiowa for some thirty years, replied. Like a good diplomat he made the widest possible claim for the tribe, saying that they owned all the way up to the North Platte and Fort Laramie, although they had not effectively occupied the land between the Arkansas and North Platte for over a generation.[7] His claim to the Southern Plains was more accurate. Dohasan thought that the commission should go ahead and deliver the treaty goods without quibbling over terms.

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[6] The Journal of the Council of Little Arkansas is published in the Commissioner's Annual Report for 1865 — Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report for 1865*, pp. 517-535. Hereinafter these volumes are referred to as *Annual Report* with the appropriate year given.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 530-531.

Dohasan's extensive northern claim seemed to be only a negotiating point. The Kiowa were more agreeable to a change in the northern boundary than in releasing captives, some of whom had been adopted into Indian families. In his first reply to Sanborn, Dohasan refused to mention the prisoners at all.[8] The government commissioners were determined that the goods should not be delivered until the captives were released. They made delivery conditional on freeing the captives.[9] The Kiowa had some time to think the situation over. Reason and tribal interest prevailed. Two days after Sanborn had given his ultimatum a party went after the captives who were in camps some distance away.[10] On October 24, a week after the demand, the Indians gave up five prisoners, promising to return others who were in far distant camps. The goods were then delivered.[11] The pattern was clear. The Government used the goods to obtain conformity with its own plans. The Kiowa complied only to the extent that they thought necessary to preserve peace on their northern border.

The 1865 treaty set up a reservation for the Kiowa and Comanche that included most of Indian Territory west of the 98th Meridian, all of the Texas Panhandle, and a generous portion of West Texas.[12] This was a large area, though less than that which they occupied at the time. A qualifying article allowed them to hunt over all their former land northward to the Arkansas River.

The treaty also provided for an annuity to the amount of ten dollars per person payable annually in goods. These were to be paid one-third in the spring and the remaining two-thirds in the fall.[13] The 1866 spring payment took place with little trouble.[14] It was different with the fall

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[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 532.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 534.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties,* Vol. II, p. 894.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] *Annual Report, 1866,* p. 247.

distribution which became the center of an acrimonious dispute between the Indian Bureau, the Kiowa, and the Army. The cause was continued Indian raiding into Texas. [15] Though the Little Arkansas Treaty pledged peace between the tribe and all the United States, the Kiowa never accepted the fact that Texas was a part of the Union. Their differences with Texas pre-dated the Civil War by many decades. Texas was not American, and as long as the Texans moved northward they were fair game for Indian bullet and tomahawk; and their horses would wind up in Kiowa herds. [16]

On his way to deliver the fall 1866 annuity Agent Jesse H. Leavenworth met Lieutenant General William Tecumseh Sherman who gave a pessimistic report of Texas border affairs, confirming that the depredations had been both recent and serious, and that the Indians had captured women and children. [17] The Agent, who formerly had blamed the Army for Indian discontent, now changed his ground and faced in an entirely different direction. He decided to withhold the annuity goods which he stored at Fort Zarah. To his great surprise he found himself opposed by army commanders in Kansas, who believed that no Indian agent could do any good. The Army officers, who recently claimed that Leavenworth was too easy on the Indians, now became friends with them, and advanced Kiowa complaints against Leavenworth. The Kiowa took full advantage of these inter-departmental differences. To everyone who would listen they proclaimed they were peaceful, and that they needed food and goods wrongly held by the Agent.

Hardly had Leavenworth heard the news from Texas than the Federal authorities in Washington were considering these same reports, and they came to a similar conclusion. On

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[15] Mooney, *Calendar History,* pp. 269-326.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] Agent Leavenworth to Commissioner D. N. Cooley, October 17, 1866; Leavenworth to Superintendent Thomas Murphy, December 19, 1866; LR, Kiowa Agency, NA, RG 75. See also Leavenworth to Cooley, April 4, 1866; enclosed in Cooley to Murphy, April 18, 1866; Murphy to Cooley, June 25, 1866; LR, Kiowa Agency, NA, RG 75.

October 22, the Secretary of Interior ordered that the Kiowa and Comanche annuity be withheld until they surrendered the captives. The Indian Bureau sent the order to Leavenworth but neglected to tell the Army commanders. [18] From Fort Zarah Leavenworth sent word to the Kiowa that there would be no annuity distribution until they had met certain terms; return the captives, or if innocent give assurances personally of such innocence, and give pledges of no more raids. [19]

Some of the Indians did as directed and received their goods. This excited envy among other Kiowa who refused to meet these conditions. As winter drew on and hunger tightened Indian stomachs, discontent welled up in the Kiowa camps. Satanta, Set-angya, and others went to the Fort Dodge commander, Major Douglass, complaining that their Agent was unfairly withholding their annuity and giving goods to minor and unimportant chiefs. [20] They maintained it was too far to meet Leavenworth at Fort Zarah, that there was snow on the ground, no grass for their poor horses, and buffalo were too far away. Besides in the cold weather their women wanted to stay in camp. Kicking Bird said that Leavenworth punished the innocent along with those who had evil in their hearts. [21] Rumors ran in the camps that the Agent sold the goods for his own benefit and that he favored certain traders over others. The commanders at Fort Dodge and Fort Larned could easily see the Indians were in want. They were themselves suspicious of the Indian Bureau and willingly passed the Indians' complaints to their superiors. [22]

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[18] Secretary of Interior O. H. Browning to Cooley; October 22, 1866; LR, Kiowa Agency, NA, RG 75. Leavenworth made his decision on October 17.

[19] Leavenworth to Murphy, December 14, 1866; LR, Kiowa Agency, NA, RG 75.

[20] Douglass to AAG, January 13, 1867; Copy of letter of John Dodge to Douglass, enclosed in Douglass to Leavenworth, January 18, 1867; Douglass to Capt. W. G. Mitchell, February 13, 1867; Ft. Dodge Letterbook, NA, RG 98.

[21] Douglass to AAG, January 13, 1867; Fort Dodge Letterbook, NA, RG 98.

[22] *Ibid.*, and Douglass to AAG, January 18, 1867; Fort Dodge Letterbook, Brvt. Maj. Henry Asbury to AAG, January 14, 1867; Asbury to AAG, February 27, 1867; Ft. Larned Letterbook, NA, RG 98.

Major Douglass made the most serious charges, saying that the Agent was deliberately starving the Indians by selling their goods. [23] For evidence he relied heavily on the testimony of a trader-interpreter, F. F. Jones. It was an unreliable source. Jones and Captain John Page had left Fort Dodge to visit the Kiowa in January, 1867, and returned several days later in February. Jones said that Leavenworth was selling the Indian annuity for his own benefit and had left the Indians to starve. The Indians were in need, true enough, but his charges against Leavenworth were dubious, resulting from self-interest, spite, and frustration. The grounds for impeaching his testimony are these: First, the divergence of his and Captain Page's stories: Though they started out together their accounts were so different that the most reasonable explanation is that they separated and went to different camps. Page said that he was courteously treated and that the Indians were peaceful. Jones said that the Indians mishandled him, stole his goods, threatened to kill Captain Page, and that the Indians were on the verge of war. At this point it looks as if after separating from Captain Page, Jones sold whiskey to the Indians and that in a drunken condition they were indeed in a frightful mood and that they forcibly took the trader's goods without payment. Jones, burning over his losses, returned to the fort breathing vengeance against Leavenworth, notwithstanding that the Agent had been nowhere near the Indian camps.

The second set of reasons for suspecting Jones were conditions at Fort Dodge. Jones seems to have got back to the fort before Page. His story put the place in such a turmoil that everyone feared an Indian attack, and Major Douglass filed an official report to Washington in which he said Leavenworth would cause an Indian war. When Page returned a few days later, quite unharmed, and told a different story, Douglass, too late, realized his error that the trader had misled him. He had copies of the Captain's report and of Jones' affidavit entered in the Letterbook. This was unusual procedure. Formally, the report and affidavit would have

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[23] For the records on this controversy see *Appendix I* at the end of this paper.

been filed in Letters Received only. The Letterbook was for letters written by the commanding officer, not for reports to him. Consequently the affidavit, though made several days previously, appears in the Letterbook after Captain Page's report. Major Douglass was covering his tracks and showing his superiors how he had been led into error. A chastened Douglass later wrote to a fellow officer that Jones sold liquor to Indians and that the interpreter was a trouble maker, a liar, and a thief.

Indian policy provided the third group of circumstances for discrediting Jones. Though Leavenworth made his initial decision to withhold the annuity before communicating with his superiors, the Interior Department and Indian Bureau came to the same decision at almost the same time as he. The order was transmitted to him; he acted under this order in the following months. Indians and army officers alike criticized him. Satanta accused his rivals at Zarah of trading with the Agent. It is difficult to see what else Leavenworth could have done. Not all the Kiowa took part in the Texas raids. The problem was to separate the guilty from the innocent, and it is here that the Government's Indian policy floundered. Many of the innocent Indians remained away from Fort Zarah, some guilty ones went to the fort and received goods. However questionable his actions at other times, Leavenworth on this occasion acted with correctness and on high authority.

Neither Major Douglass nor Jones was aware of the instructions from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Leavenworth. Douglass soon learned. After making his charges, the Major received a warm letter from the Agent enclosing the Indian Bureau's instructions. For his eager acceptance of Jones' story, Major Douglass suffered the embarrassment of seeing the correspondence and instructions made a part of an Indian council's official proceedings which cleared Leavenworth.

Everyone was caught in this frontier mix-up. Leavenworth followed his instructions and fed the guilty along with the innocent. Kicking Bird protested this as

unjust, but could offer no workable alternative. Satanta, the spokesman for and probably one of the raiders, was well received at Fort Dodge. Major Douglass took pity on starving Indians, furthered the raiders' cause against Leavenworth and found himself in conflict with the Government's Indian policy.

In these difficult circumstances the Kiowa kept the peace during the winter and spring of 1867. Then their allies, the Cheyenne, became involved in a war with the Army. [24] Events tried Kiowa diplomacy. They did not want to offend their Cheyenne friends who sent delegations proposing a military alliance to the Kiowa camps. [25] Neither did they want to give offense to the United States Government because they firmly did not want a war on their northern borderland. The chiefs were in a delicate situation. It was left for them to explain the Kiowa position to the questioning whites so that the Army would keep away from their camps. Kiowa eloquence met the challenge. Neither concealing their discontent nor hiding feelings of outraged justice, they protested white travel on the Santa Fe road and the destruction of buffalo. Then to pacify the Government they carefully informed the Army commanders the whereabouts of camps and told them the latest Indian news. [26]

In the spring the Army sent an expedition under the command of Major General Winfield S. Hancock to guarantee whites free travel across the Central Plains. [27] In separate interviews Kicking Bird and Satanta urged upon him that the Kiowa had not gone to war, that they had stayed south of

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[24] For a discussion of the Cheyenne difficulties, see Donald J. Berthrong, *The Southern Cheyenne* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1963) pp. 266-288.

[25] Douglass to AAG, January 13, 1867; Douglass to McKeever, March 24, 1867; Ft. Dodge Letterbook; Maj. M. H. Kidd to AAG, May 22, 1867; Ft. Larned Letterbook, NA, RG 98.

[26] Douglass to AAG, February 13, 1867; Douglass to McKeever, March 24, 1867; Ft. Dodge Letterbook, NA, RG 98.

[27] Copy of letter of Lt. Gen. William T. Sherman to Maj. Gen. Hancock, March 14, 1867; enclosed in Hancock Campaign, File M 590, 1867; AGO, LR, NA, RG 94.

the Arkansas away from the hostile Cheyenne and Sioux. They hoped to keep Hancock from advancing south to destroy their villages, as he had recently captured and burned a Cheyenne-Sioux camp.

In a moving speech Kicking Bird said that the tribe had not gone to war, because it would bring troubles to the people. He recalled the advice of the late Dohasan: "Our Great Chief To-haw-son is dead. He was a great chief for the whites and Indians. Whatever To-haw-son said, they kept in their hearts. What To-haw-son told them in council, they remembered and they would go the road he told them; that is to be friendly to the whites. This country south of the Arkansas is our country. We want peace, and not war. . . ." [28]

Kicking Bird asked the General not to take his troops south of the Arkansas River because it would bring the war which the Kiowa had so far avoided. Satanta added in his speech that the Kiowa wanted peace. They had not aided the Cheyennes and Sioux in their war: "Other tribes are very foolish. They make war and are unfortunate, and then call upon the Kiowas to aid them . . . . I want peace and all officers around this country know it." [29]

The interviews favorably impressed Hancock. The officers of both Fort Dodge and Fort Larned confirmed Kicking Bird and Satanta. Though the Army continued operations against the Cheyenne and Sioux, it kept out of Kiowa land. [30] The chiefs could not control everyone, and it was reported that some rebellious warriors escaped tribal authority to aid the

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[28] Talk held with Kiowa Chiefs "Kicking Bird," "Stumbling Bear," "the Man that moves" . . ., enclosed in Hancock Campaign, File M 590, 1867; AGO, LR, NA, RG 94.

[29] Proceedings of the Council held by Maj. Gen. Hancock . . . with Head Chief Satanta . . . enclosed in Hancock Campaign, File M 590, 1867; AGO, LR, NA, RG 94. A command headed by Major Cooper received instructions to distinguish between hostile Cheyenne and Sioux and friendly Kiowa and Arapahoe. Post Adjutant to Maj. Cooper, April 17, 1867; Ft. Dodge Letterbook, NA, RG 98.

[30] *Ibid.*

Cheyenne hostiles.[31] Nevertheless, the Kiowa were so backward in supporting the Kansas hostilities that the Cheyennes refused to help their southern neighbors raid into Texas, avowing that they merely returned the compliment.[32] By such means the Kiowa maintained peace in their troubled north borderland and guaranteed the flow of trade goods.

In late summer, 1867, military operations came to a close, and the Government began work on a peaceful settlement of its Plains Indian difficulties. At the Council of Medicine Lodge Creek the United States tried to bend the Indians towards its will. And, as in the 1865 council its objectives were the same: remove the Indians from land desired by whites and terminate the Indian warfare. The same tribes attended the council as before: Kiowa, Comanche, Kiowa-Apache, Cheyenne, and Arapaho. The meeting began in suspense. Senator John B. Henderson spoke for the Commission, telling the Indians that the Government had sent the commissioners to establish peace. The Great Father wanted to give them land on which they could settle down and where they would receive the comforts and benefits of white civilizations such as houses, farms, schools, and churches.[33]

The Indian reaction to these proposals was hostile. Satanta rejected the benefits; since the Kiowa had not broken the peace he saw no reason why they should be punished. The Kiowa did not want any medicine homes to teach them the white man's way. They wanted to hunt the buffalo as they had always done.[34] Since talk of reservation life had little prospect of success the Commission then changed the topic to what the Indians would receive. They did not have to go immediately to their reservation and give up the ways

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[31] For "Rumors of Kiowa Raids in Kansas" see *Appendix II* at the end of this article.

[32] John Smith to Murphy, January 25, 1868, enclosed in Murphy to Taylor, February 20, 1868; LR, Kiowa Agency, NA, RG 75.

[33] Medicine Lodge Creek Proceedings, 1867, p. 99, NA, RG 75. For a study of newspaper accounts of the conference, see Douglas C. Jones, *The Treaty of Medicine Lodge* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1966).

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101.

of their forefathers. They could still wander over their old hunting grounds up to the Arkansas.[35] The Government would increase annuities.[36] The Kiowa would each receive a suit of clothing every year.[37] The Indians were more interested in these terms than in the reservation life, though they still were reluctant to sign the treaty. Senator Henderson assured them that the new treaty gave more goods than the 1865 agreement.[38] With these promises ringing in their ears, the Kiowa signed.

Terms relating to boundaries and to annuities were definite enough for white men. The new Kiowa and Comanche reservation was to be bounded by the Ninety-eighth Meridian on the east, by the Washita and North Fork of Red River on the north, by the One Hundredth Meridian on the west, and the Red River on the south. The Government promised to pay annuity goods to the two tribes for thirty years.[39] Though the treaty exactly stated these obligations, circumstances surrounding the council could only lead to further misunderstanding. The reservation was a mere fraction of the land occupied by the Kiowa at the time. Moreover, the Commission and the treaty said that they had hunting rights up to the Arkansas River which the Kiowa understood to mean sole right of occupation.[40] The Government put no such interpretation on the treaty, nor could it because the tide of white migration was too strong to

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[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 107-108.

[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 109.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] Kappler, *Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, p. 980.

[40] In the negotiations the Indians had stressed they wanted to protect the buffalo; where houses and posts were built buffalo would soon disappear. The distinction made by whites between a reservation and an area reserved for hunting rights was not clear to the Indians. They believed they had preserved all their lands south of the Arkansas, and they thanked the Commission for these guarantees. In such a mood Satanta said the Commissioners were men of the past, come to remove present grievances and to restore the past when everything was all right. Medicine Lodge Creek Proceedings, pp. 125-126; NA, RG 75.

allow the Central Plains to be permanent Indian land.[41] The stage for further conflict was set.

New developments in Kiowa-white relations marked 1868. Early in the year the annuity again became a matter of dispute between the Government and the tribe. The Kiowa continued to raid into Texas,[42]and they had acquired more captives.[43] The Government tried to obtain these by withholding the annuity.[44] But before the questions were resolved, another Plains Indian war had begun. The Cheyenne were directly in the path of white migration, and by late summer they were raiding in Kansas.[45]

The Government decided to use again two methods to clear all Indians from the Central Plains: force and goods. Determined that the hostiles should be punished, it turned the Cheyenne over to the Army's tender mercies. The Indians who were not hostile were to go to Fort Cobb, Indian Territory, where General Hazen would supply them with rations and goods.[46] The Kiowa were in a dilemma again: Should they aid their allies or should they follow the traditional peace policy which had brought so much reward and profit? Reward and profit won out.

The Arkansas River had long been attractive to them. They had camped along its broad valley since coming from

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[41] The Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs stated the problem clearly: "Another cause or hindrance (of progress in Indian relations) is the fact that the Indian has no certainty as to the permanent possession of the land he occupies. . . The plea of manifest destiny is paramount and the Indian must give way, though it be at the sacrifice of what may be as dear as life." — *Annual Report*, 1867, p. 1.

[42] Brvt. Maj. Gen. William B. Hazen to Lt. Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman, November 10, 1868; in Sherman-Sheridan Papers, typescript in Manuscripts Division, University of Oklahoma, p. 42. Cited hereinafter as Sherman-Sheridan Papers.

[43] Leavenworth to Taylor, April 26, 1868; LR, Kiowa Agency, NA RG 75.

[44] Taylor to Murphy, August 1, 1868; Field Office Records, LR, Central Superintendency, NA, RG 75.

[45] Berthrong, *The Southern Cheyenne*, 303 ff., and William H. Leckie, *The Military Conquest of the Southern Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1963), 63 ff.

[46] Copy of Sherman to Secretary of War John M. Schofield, September 26, 1868; LR from Kiowa Agency, NA, RG 75.

the north about 1800. It was a bountiful land with plenty of pasture for horses, and it had been a favorite place for tribal sun dances. But occupation by frontier settlers had lessened its advantages. Since 1864 there had been continuous alarms in Kansas caused by settlers and railroad construction. Troops were stationed there, and more were coming; buffalo and game were scarce; and timber for lodgepoles and firewood had become scarce. With its resources depleted, its only attractions were sentiment and some trade, and these were not worth a war. To remain and fight with the Cheyenne would bring worse consequences; for it would set upon the Kiowa the wrath of the Federal Government, whose troops would harry them in their own land. A war would disrupt their trading relations which they had so carefully cultivated. To abandon the Arkansas peaceably would mean giving up old trade contracts, but commerce could be renewed at Fort Cobb where traders had been active among the Wichita and Caddo. Regretfully, the tribe left the Arkansas country to join General Hazen in the south.[47] A few warriors, regarded as foolish by others of this tribe, went to help the Cheyenne.[48] Kiowa enthusiasm for war was so weak that it again aroused Cheyenne anger.[49]

In leaving the Arkansas, the Kiowa followed the old practice of maintaining peace along their northern border; this policy guaranteed a continuous supply of goods and munitions. Peace in the north was necessary to pursue war in the south.

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[47] Captain Daingerfield Parker said that in September the Kiowa had left Ft. Larned to join General Hazen in the south. Parker to John F. Weston, AAAG, Sept. 21, 1868; Ft. Larned Letterbook, NA, RG 98.

[48] Proceedings of a Council held with Chiefs of the Kiowa Nation by General Sheridan and General Custer, at Medicine Lodge Creek, I. T., February 16, 1869; Sherman-Sheridan Papers, p. 218. One of the last chiefs to leave was Satanta. Significantly he and his band needed food. Douglass to Capt. Samuel L. Barr, May 2, 1868. Ft. Dodge Letterbook; Asbury to Brvt. Maj. E. A. Belger, June 14, 1868; Asbury to McKeever, July 2, 1868; Ft. Larned Letterbook; NA, RG 98. As early as spring, 1868, tribal opinion was turning against Satanta's effort to remain in the north. Phillip McCusker to Leavenworth, April 10, 1868; enclosed in Leavenworth to Taylor, May 21, 1868; LR, Kiowa Agency, NA, RG 75.

[49] Parker to Lt. John F. Weston, September 10, 1868; Ft. Larned Letterbook; NA, RG 48.

APPENDIX I

The records for the controversy between Agent Leavenworth, Major Douglass, and the Kiowa are the following: Douglass to Mitchell, February 13, 1867; Account of Capt. John Page concerning a visit to Kiowa camp, February 13, 1867; Copy of affidavit of F. F. Jones concerning a visit to Kiowa camp, February 9, 1867; Douglass to Major John E. Yard, Ft. Dodge Letterbook; NA, RG 98. Leavenworth to D. N. Cooley, October 17, 1866; Leavenworth to Murphy, December 14, 1866; LR, Kiowa Agency; NA, RG 75. Copy of Letter of Secretary of Interior O. H. Browning to Commissioner D. N. Cooley, October 22, 1866; Field Office Records, LR by Central Superintendency; NA, RG 75. Copy of Douglass to Leavenworth, January 25, 1867; Indian Peace Commission, Separated Correspondence; Records of Secretary of Interior; NA, RG 48. Copy of Leavenworth to Douglass, January 22, 1867; Copy of Murphy to Leavenworth, October 29, 1866; Copy of Browning to Cooley, October 22, 1866. Report of Operations of Troops Comprising the Expedition to the Plains, Commencing March 25, 1867, under the Command of Maj. Gen. W. S. Hancock, 1867, File M 590, Adjutant General's Office, LR, NA, RG 94. In the footnotes this report is referred to as Hancock Campaign, File M 590; AGO, LR, NA, RG 94.

APPENDIX II

There were many rumors of Kiowa participation in Kansas raids during the 1867 summer. The burden of evidence is that as a tribe they did not; moreover, in Kansas war was not in their interests. The most serious charge against them was that Santanta led a band of 150 to 200 which captured the Fort Dodge cavalry herd. Douglass to McKeever, June 14, 1867; Ft. Dodge Letterbook; NA, RG 98. This testimony deserves special weight because Major Douglass had befriended the Kiowa. Naming the attackers as Kiowa hinged on recognizing the leaders. Close scrutiny casts doubt on the identification. Satanta was well known at Ft. Dodge, especially by Douglass. The latter, however, did not witness the raid, since the horses were a mile from the camp. He depended on the herders' story; and these, entirely outnumbered, were doubtless running for their very lives and did not stop to investigate their attackers close up. Satanta, though brash was no coward, and he denied having part in the raid. Medicine Lodge Creek Proceedings, p. 100, NA, RG 75. It would have been out of character for him to deny an act so rich in bravery and coups. Agent Leavenworth, who had no love for Satanta, defended him. According to the Agent, Cheyenne from Black Kettle's village took the horses. Leavenworth to Taylor, July 24, 1867; LR, Kiowa Agency, NA, RG 75. The Arapahoe chief Little Raven said that a force of Cheyenne and Arapahoe captured a herd of about forty mules near Fort Dodge. He slyly added: "Major Douglass knows all about it." It is possible he referred to the alleged Satanta raid. — Proceedings of Council held on Medicine Lodge Creek, October, 1867, p. 115, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, NA, RG 75.

PRELIMINARY SUMMARY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS IN THE SOUTH BARRACKS, FORT WASHITA, BRYAN COUNTY, OKLAHOMA

By Don G. Wyckoff and Towana Spivey

INTRODUCTION

The following pages present an initial summary of archaeological investigations undertaken in 1971 at the South Barracks building of Fort Washita, Bryan County, Oklahoma. A detailed study of the work and its findings is presently underway, and a thorough presentation of what was done and what was found will be forthcoming. In lieu of the final report, this brief synopsis has been prepared so that the overall results of the work are now available.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Fort Washita investigations described herein are a cooperative venture between the Oklahoma Historical Society and the Oklahoma Archaeological Survey. It is entirely fitting that these two agencies should be working together since both have been entrusted with the responsibility of constructive study and preservation of a unique natural resource, the locations pertaining to Oklahoma's historical and prehistoric past. The success of these investigations reflects the interest and cooperation of a number of individuals, and it is a pleasure to recognize and acknowledge these persons. Certainly this work would not have been possible if it were not for the interest, support, and assistance of persons on the staff of the Oklahoma Historical Society; Mr. Elmer Fraker, Mr. Mike Bureman, and Mrs. Martha Blaine were instrumental in the achievements of this undertaking. A debt of gratitude is also expressed to Dr. Muriel H. Wright for allowing use of documents and records which she had collected that pertain to the construction and habitation history of Fort Washita. Appreciation is also expressed to Mr. James Fricke and Mr. Jim Carol of the Fort Washita staff for their patience and assistance throughout the field work. A special word of thanks goes to Tommy Benton who has labored diligently throughout the project to move

dirt and rocks with everything from a brush to a shovel.

The 1971 Investigations And Their Objectives

The site of old Fort Washita is now owned by the Oklahoma Historical Society. In an effort to enhance the interpretive presentation of the site, the Society has planned to restore some of the original buildings. The first structure considered for such restoration is the stone barracks which forms the south end of the parade ground. By general consensus this structure has been designated as the South Barracks.

Much of the South Barracks was still standing in the early 1900's, and subsequent to the Society's ownership of the fort, the rock walls of the first story were rebuilt. However, prior to any complete restoration, it was obvious that many details pertaining to the structure and its architecture were lacking. Some such details could be obtained from a careful study of existing military and civilian documents which describe the fort and its operation. Such documents are available and have been utilized with appreciable results, but there was also a need for the controlled field excavations which could reveal potentially important information *in situ* to supplement that data gleaned from the written documents. On the basis of both pertinent documents and archaeological excavations, the background could be developed for any eventual restoration of the building.

Personnel of the Oklahoma Historical Society and the Oklahoma Archaeological Survey visited Fort Washita and inspected the South Barracks. Subsequent consultations between these persons resulted in the agreement that excavations were feasible and could result in some information potentially significant for the eventual reconstruction of this building. At a meeting held on April 7, 1971, Mr. Elmer Fraker (Administrative Secretary of the Historical Society), Mrs. Martha Blaine (Chief Curator of the Historical Society), Mr. Don Wyckoff (State Archaeologist of the University of Oklahoma), and Mr. Towana Spivey (a student archaeologist) agreed to cooperate in undertaking such work. The main objectives for archaeological

excavations of the South Barracks were twofold: 1) exposure of any details pertinent to an architectural reconstruction of the building; 2) exposure and recovery of any artifacts pertinent to the 19th century usage of the building and the habitation of the fort.

Excavations of the South Barracks began on April 12, 1971, and continued for four weeks. The excavation procedure included establishment of horizontal grids composed of five-foot squares and the excavation of the squares with trowels and shovels. The fill dirt was usually screened when it was possible to associate fill with a context relating to the 19th century usage of this building. Materials found in each square were placed in labeled sacks; these materials are now being cleaned and catalogued and will be analyzed and reported upon in the final report. The excavations were conducted on both interior and exterior areas of the building, and a number of features were found. A detailed map of the building was made (Fig. la), and all associated architectural features exposed by the field work have been incorporated into this map.

Findings Of The 1971 Excavations In The South Barracks

Results of the 1971 archaeological investigations are listed and briefly discussed below. In most instances, the respective discussions are related to a photograph taken of the particular architectural feature as it was exposed.

General Statement

It can be confirmed that the South Barracks building is the structure built in 1849 for infantry quarters. The excavations exposed a sufficient number of features to indicate an extremely close correlation between the map of the existing structure (Fig. la) and a plan for "New Infantry Quarters at Fort Washita, C.N." found in the National Archives in Washington, D.C. The plans called for a long, rectangular building of two stories (first of stone and second of wooden frame). The first story was to be composed of two large rectangular rooms (kitcken-mess rooms) separated by a

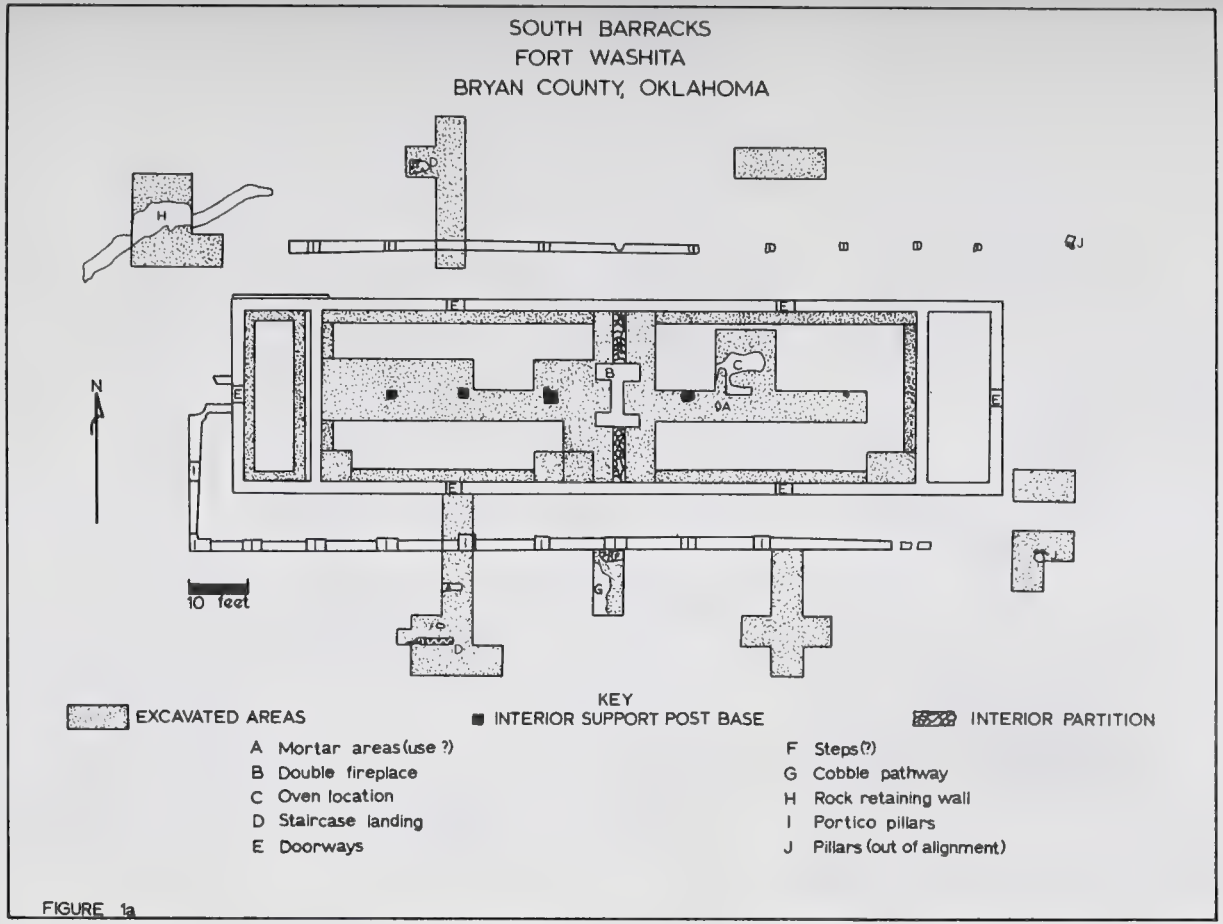
SOUTH BARRACKS
FORT WASHITA
BRYAN COUNTY, OKLAHOMA
N
10 feet
KEY
EXCAVATED AREAS
INTERIOR SUPPORT POST BASE
INTERIOR PARTITION
A Mortar areas(use ?)
B Double fireplace
C Oven location
D Staircase landing
E Doorways
F Steps(?)
G Cobble pathway
H Rock retaining wall
I Portico pillars
J Pillars (out of alignment)
FIGURE 1a

FIGURE 1 a

partition in which a double fireplace occurs. At each end of this first story were to be small, rectangular root-house rooms. Surrounding this first story was to occur a portico with pillars to support a frame portico associated with the wooden second story. The dimensions of the existing structure are not exactly comparable to those on the plans; the existing structure is shorter and more narrow. But, in terms of number of rooms, their sequence, and other associated features, the existing South Barracks compares quite favorably to the plans. The minor discrepancies in size suggest the plans were altered to suit the space situation and needs at Fort Washita. There are no other visible structures at the fort which compare in outline and room sequence to the plans from the national Archives.

General Construction Details

1. The structure was built on a southwest facing slope of a hill with the structure itself being oriented east-west (Fig. 2a). To compensate for the slope, a trench (Fig. 2b) was dug for the foundation and a one to two-inch layer of mortar was poured in which to lay the first run of foundation stones. There was apparently some concern about moisture collecting at the southwest (lowest) corner of the building, so a drain hole was chipped into one of the rocks in the first run of the foundation (Fig. 2c). Because of the slope, the walls at the west end had to be much higher than at the east end (Fig. 1b), and to correct the sloping natural floor, the entire interior was backfilled with dirt and gravel. This fill was capped with some 12-14 inches of packed, red clay which formed the floor. Before this floor was laid, the interior partition in the mess room area was built and the interior walls were apparently plastered.

2. Subsequent to the construction of the main structure's walls, the portico was added. A series of rock-mortar pillars were built at regularly spaced intervals some 8 feet outside the structure (Fig. 1a and 2d). Then the intervening space between these pillars was rocked in. Finally, the space between the portico wall and the

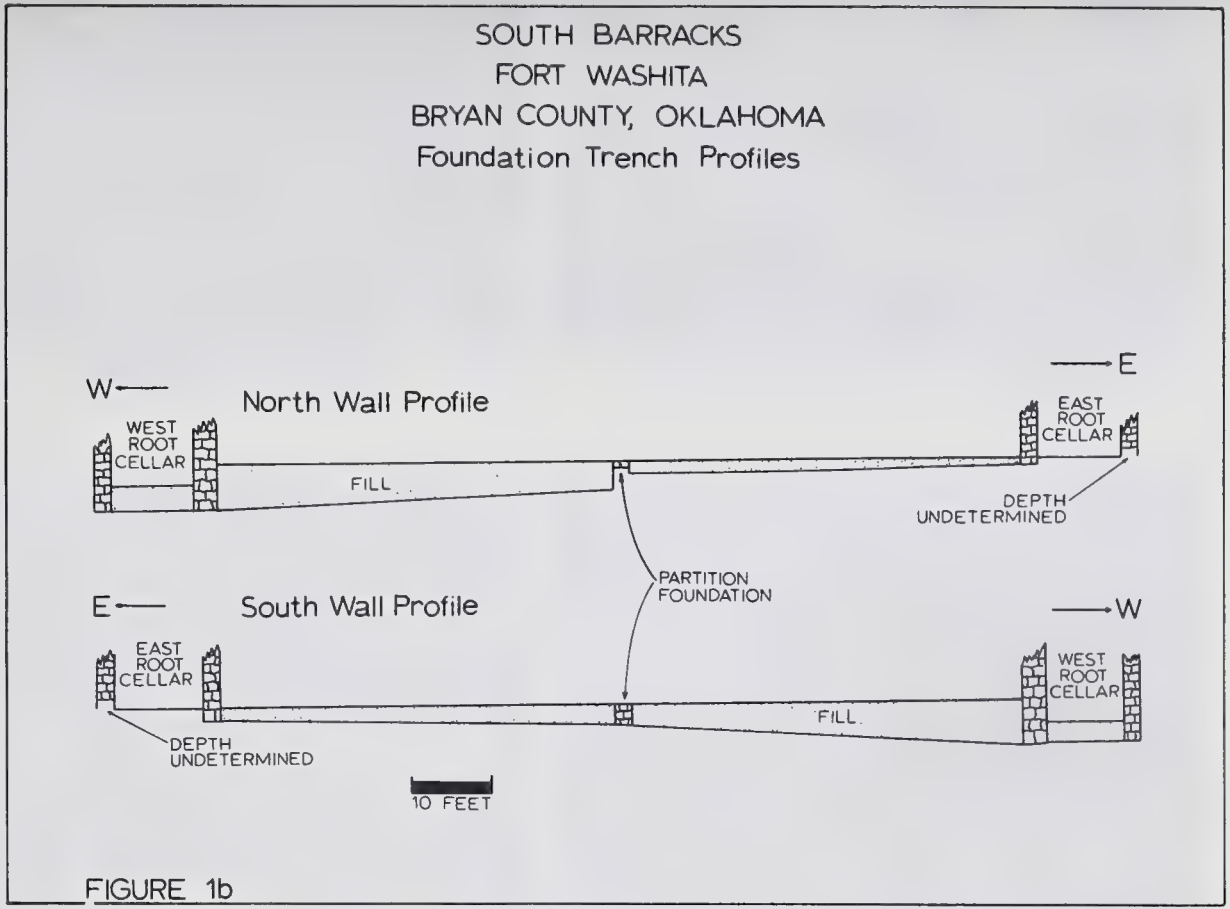
SOUTH BARRACKS
FORT WASHITA
BRYAN COUNTY, OKLAHOMA
Foundation Trench Profiles
W
North Wall Profile
E
WEST ROOT CELLAR
FILL
EAST ROOT CELLAR
DEPTH UNDETERMINED
PARTITION FOUNDATION
E
South Wall Profile
W
EAST ROOT CELLAR
DEPTH UNDETERMINED
FILL
WEST ROOT CELLAR
10 FEET
FIGURE 1b

FIGURE 1 b

a. The South Barracks at Fort Washita as viewed from the E-SE prior to field work.

b. East wall profile of trench through S portico. Dotted line traces profile of original pit dug for foundation.

c. Drain hole exposed in base of foundation. Found in S wall of O-E5.

d. Portico wall at SW corner of building. Note portico pillars are of separate construction from portico wall.

FIGURE 2

a. Double fireplace and partition between the two kitchen-mess rooms. View looking north.

b. Rock bases for interior supports found in center of west kitchen-mess rooms.

c. Eastern most rock base for interior support in W kitchen-mess room. Note offset chipped in rock for possible laying of floor.

d. Looking W at mortar-rock base for oven location found in E kitchen-mess room.

FIGURE 3

structure wall was backfilled with dirt and gravel (Fig. 2b).

Interior Construction Details

1. The root cellar walls were built at the same time as the structure's exterior walls. The west root cellar has a stepped offset along the east wall; this feature is suggestive of the presence of a low loft.

2. The kitchen-mess rooms were of comparable size and were separated by a low rock partition which also incorporated a double fireplace (Fig. 3a). This partition wall apparently projected only a slight distance above the floor and was probably the base for a wooden wall between the rooms (Fig. 3a). Doorways in this partition were not discerned by the excavations, and it is possible the mess rooms were closed off from each other.

3. The double fireplace in the interior partition was the only open fireplace in the structure.

4. Rock pillar bases on mortar bases were found at regular intervals running down the center of the building (Figs. la and 3b). These bases supported pillars, probably wooden, which braced the joist of the second floor. The sequence and spacing of these pillars was best exposed in the west mess-room (see Fig. la); those in the east room were largely destroyed by 20th century usage of this structure as a barn.

5. A probable oven location, demarked by a mortared area and baked clay, was exposed in the northwest part of the east mess-room (Figs. la and 3d). This location measured some 5 feet in length and 2½ feet in width.

Exterior Construction Details

1. The portico apparently did surround the structure except, perhaps, at the east end. Pillars did occur at the

a. Staircase base exposed in trench projecting out from SW doorway.

b. Base of portico pillar (third from northeast corner of building).

c. Looking S at exposed section of rock-retaining wall present to NW of building.

d. Step-like area and cobble pathway exposed S of centerpoint on S portico.

FIGURE 4

east end but only on a general alignment with the north and south portico walls and not across the east end.

2. The portico was constructed by building rock-mortar pillars every 10-15 feet apart (Figs. 2d and 4b). A rock wall was then built to connect these pillars. Subsequently the space between the portico wall and the structure wall was backfilled with dirt and gravel.

3. Trenches were dug out from each of the four doorways in an attempt to locate the bases for the stairways to the second floor. Such staircase landings were exposed at a point 10 feet out from the portico wall out from the northwest and southwest doorways (Fig. la). These landings were small rectangular areas of mortar and rock (Fig. 4a). The existence of such landings out from the northeast and southeast doors is suspected though the excavations failed to reveal their exact location.

4. A trench excavated off the northwest corner of the structure revealed the presence of a rock retaining wall (Fig. 4c). This feature is of significance because historical records tell of problems with runoff eroding the foundation of the barracks.

5. Segments of a cobble pavement were exposed extending south from the center point of the south portico wall. A few rocks mortared into the portico wall are suggestive of steps built at this point (Fig. 4d).

Recovered Artifacts

Quite a variety of metal, china, and glass artifacts were recovered during the excavations. Some of these relate to the 20th century usage of this structure as a stable. Others relate to the 19th century utilization of the fort. Among the latter are military buttons, musket balls, percussion caps, sections of shovels used in digging the structure location, and square nails. The only coin found was a 1911 Liberty nickel. All artifacts are now being cleaned and prepared for analysis in the final report.

General Comments Regarding Restoration

1. Exposure of the foundation walls on their interior (see Fig. la) revealed a few large cracks. The stability of these walls should be insured prior to any reconstruction.
2. Interior features, including partition wall, double fireplace, and rock bases for interior supports, are structural features which should be accounted for in any accurate reconstruction.
3. The exterior portico is generally in good shape. Some joints will need repointing and a slight amount of wall reconstruction will be needed to maintain the authentic appearance of this structure.
4. Little data was recovered pertaining to the nature of the second story. Interior support post bases and the portico pillars attest to its presence. The reconstruction of the second story will have to depend heavily on available documentary evidence.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Tribute To Senator Robert L. Owen

By George H. Shirk

The Oklahoma Historical Society has at last corrected Oklahoma's long neglect of one of its greater citizens, United States Senator Robert L. Owen. Oklahoma must share with Virginia the great heritage represented in this remarkable man, and in every sense of the word these two states joined in a common cause when at 11:00 a.m. on Saturday, September 25, 1971 special ceremonies[1] at Spring Hill Cemetery at Lynchburg, Virginia placed for the first time, and more than two decades after his death, a fitting tribute and memorial marker at his grave.

Robert L. Owen was born February 2, 1856 in the old Latham house at the corner of Ninth and Court Streets in Lynchburg. His parents, each in their respective ancestry represented the finest that the heritage of two great cultures had to offer.

His mother was Narcissa Chisholm of Webbers Falls, where she was born October 3, 1831. As a youth she had been sent to Evansville, Indiana to be educated. Later and while teaching at Morristown, Tennessee she met Robert L. Owen, then a locating engineer for the Virginia & Tennessee Railroad. They were married in the home of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Tennessee. The Reverend David Sullins officiated. The name Sullins[2] has lived on in the institution that he founded, Sullins College at Bristol, Virginia.

Mr. Owen later became president of the railroad, and when Robert was a youth the family moved to the finest of

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[1] The preparation of this article would have been impossible but for the help of Mrs. Lib Wiley, feature writer for the *Lynchburg Advance.*

[2] The name "Sullins" is not unknown in Oklahoma. Judge Edgar Sullins Vaught, long time United States District Judge and a member of the Board of the Society, was likewise named for Rev. David Sullins.

(From *The News & The Daily Advance* Lynchburg, Virginia — 1972)

PLAQUE UNVEILED TO HONOR UNITED STATES SENATOR ROBERT LATHAM OWEN

Ceremonies conducted under the auspices of the Oklahoma Historical Society, at the grave-site of Robert Latham Owen in Spring Hill Cemetery, in the unveiling of a plaque honoring this well-known Cherokee, Lynchburg native and three-term U. S. Senator from Oklahoma. Taking part were (from left) Earl Boyd Pierce, General Counsel of the Cherokee Nation; George H. Shirk, Oklahoma Historical Society; and Circuit Judge William Sweeney of Lynchburg, Chairman of the event.

Lynchburg homes, Point of Honor, now a historic site of major significance and on the National Register.

The details of his mother's return to Indian Territory in July, 1873 following the death of Mr. Owen are well known and it is not intended that this be a chronicle of the life of Senator Owen. [3]

Senator Owen made his home in Washington after his determination not to seek re-election to the United States Senate in the Fall of 1924. There he died on July 19, 1947; and he was buried in the Owen family plot in Lynchburg with the sole marker being that of a single shaft bearing only the name Owen and intended to mark the entire plot.

Senator Owen had been honored by Lynchburg before, when on October 16, 1936, with the Senator present, the City Council of Lynchburg dedicated a plaque at the northeast corner of Ninth and Court Streets. It is presently in service marking the site of his birth and reads:

> *In a house on this site on February 2, 1856 was born Robert Latham Owen, U.S. Senator from Oklahoma and co-patron of the Federal Reserve Act. His family were prominent in the civic and cultural development of Lynchburg for four generations.*

The literal accuracy of the plaque is attested by the original Owen family plot in the city's first cemetery, now closed for further interments, wherein is the grave of Owen Owen, the great grandfather of Senator Owen.[4] Beside him are interred also other members of the Owen family,

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[3] There have been several worth-while articles on Senator Owen in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* See, for example, Belcher, "Political Leadership of Robert L. Owen," *ibid.,* Vol. XXXI, No. 4 (Winter 1953-54).

[4] See Lucy H. Baber, *Behind the Old Brick Wall,* Lynchburg, 1969, for a complete story of the old Lynchburg Cemetery. On pages 62 and 63 are the details of Jane Owen, wife of Owen, including the well-known story, there reported as "pure heresay" that it was the Senator's great-grandmother, Jane, who from her garden provided Thomas Jefferson with the tomato that he consumed "with evident relish" and thus proved that love apples were not poisonous.

although the Senator, his parents and his wife rest side by side in the more recent Spring Hill Cemetery. In this cemetery, by remarkable coincidence, rests Carter Glass. These two men alone, as co-authors of the Federal Reserve Act, did so much to bring financial stability to the United States.

The reason is unclear as to why no headstone or other distinctive marking has honored the Senator's resting place. For some time the Board of the Oklahoma Historical Society under the special urging of Earl Boyd Pierce, General Counsel to the Cherokee Nation, had been seeking a way to correct the deficiency and to pay tribute to this most prominent Cherokee.

Through acquaintance with S. Allen Chambers, Jr. of Lynchburg, now on the Washington staff of the office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, contact was made with his aunt, Mrs. E. Alban Watson of Lynchburg, long prominent in historical affairs. She in turn secured the cooperation of the Historic Lynchburg Foundation. Mrs. William McK. Massie, the current president of the Foundation, appointed a local committee to plan the ceremonies and prevailed upon Judge William W. Sweeney, of the Sixth Judicial Circuit at Lynchburg to serve as chairman. The Lynchburg committee worked closely with officials of the Society.

Mrs. Douglas A. Robertson, a prominent Lynchburg attorney, served as chairman of the marker committee. A granite shaft was secured locally. A bronze plaque 24 inches in width and 40 inches in height was cast in Oklahoma City, bearing the Great Seal of the State of Oklahoma and the Great Seal of the Cherokee Nation.

Governor David Hall formally presented the plaque to President Shirk at a special press conference on Thursday, September 23, 1971, with instructions that it be presented on behalf of the State of Oklahoma to the Historic Lynchburg Foundation.

Mr. W. W. Keeler, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, arranged transportation for an Oklahoma delegation to

attend the ceremonies and the plaque was carried from Oklahoma City to Lynchburg by the group.

At the last moment Chief Keeler was unable to attend and so the Oklahoma delegation consisted of George H. Shirk, Earl Boyd Pierce, Martin Hagarstrand, Director of the Cherokee National Historical society, and Don Ade of Muskogee, a Cherokee who served as a personal representative for Chief Keeler.

The plaque was delivered in Lynchburg upon arrival Friday afternoon, September 24, and through extraordinary effort of Baer and Sons, the stonemasons, it was installed during the night and was in perfect form for the dedicatory services the following morning.

The Oklahoma group were guests of the Lynchburg Foundation Friday evening at a special dinner and reception at the Boonesboro Country Club. Judge Sweeney served as master of ceremonies, and all guests were especially appreciative of the two separate aspects of the American heritage that had been brought together in the person of Senator Owen and then in turn by those present for the evening.

For the ceremony Saturday morning the weather cooperated perfectly. Judge Sweeney presided and the invocation was offered by the Reverend Henry D. Gasson, Assistant Director of St. Paul's Episcopal Church of Lynchburg. Mayor Frank Read welcomed the large crowd of guests and turned the keys of the city to the Oklahoma delegation.

In response a tribute was paid by the President of the Oklahoma Historical Society who said in opening his remarks: "On behalf of Governor David Hall I consider it a rare honor to represent one of the newer states in our great Union, the forty-sixth, at this wonderful occasion held in the heart of one of its original states, that of the Old Dominion."

In the absence of Chief Keeler, Mr. Pierce read the remarks prepared by Mr. Keeler. Mr. Pierce reminded the

group that Senator Owen last year became the first person to be made a member of the newly created Cherokee Hall of Fame, in Tahlequah:

> We are grateful for the many things he did for our state and the American Indian, and are proud to think of him as an Oklahoman and a part Cherokee. However, I surely recognize that the senator is a native son of Lynchburg and the great Commonwealth of Virginia which has given our nation more statesmen than any other state.... Proud as we Oklahomas are of Senator Owen, I am glad that Oklahomans and Virginians can both share his memory and pay honor to him together as we are doing today... In view of Senator Owen's achievements, there is certainly plenty to share. This is particularly true of the members of the Cherokee tribe.

Following his graduation from Washington and Lee University with honors, Senator Owen went to Indian Territory and started as a teacher at the Cherokee orphanage at Salina where many of the residents were orphaned by the Civil War. He also later served education of young Cherokees as supervisor of the Cherokee National School system and became Indian Agent for the five civilized tribes and was attorney of the Cherokees.

Mr. Pierce continued:

> Through his efforts, Eastern Cherokees won a judgment in the U. S. Supreme Court for some five million dollars. He later helped win a judgment for Western Cherokees for $800,000. He drew up the act giving U.S. citizenship to every Indian in Indian Territory. These were big jobs.
>
> But there is no telling how many hundreds of things he did for individual Cherokees and their families as an attorney. And he didn't let down when he became Oklahoma's first U.S. Senator in 1907... Senator Owen was a man who knew the secret of joining the best of the old with the best of the new... It is fitting that one of Virginia's greatest senators, Carter Glass, is buried in this same cemetery since Senator Glass and Senator Owen were responsible for one of the great pieces of legislation of this century (the Federal Reserve Banking Act)... It is significant too that he chose this peaceful area in which we are now located as his final resting place and that his wife, father and mother are also buried here.

Mr. Pierce told of Senator Owen's price in his mother's Virginia heritage. At the time of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904, in St. Louis, which honored Thomas Jefferson, "Senator Owen's mother painted six generations of

the distinguished Jefferson family. It was no coincidence that when she built her fine home in northeastern Oklahoma that she named it Monticello."

Robert Owen met the standards set in these verses of his mother. "He thought of his brothers on this earth. He did his best for them and he did it *now.*"

> Fill each hour with kind thoughts of brothers
> Let no dark dreams intrude on now;
> Think only to serve and please others,
> And, in so doing, do it "now."
> In life's greatest contests, self's small prize
> Ne'er should cloud our peaceful brow;
> Enjoy while you may God's blue skies;
> Sing, smile, laugh, and do your best — now.

Following the ceremony the Oklahoma guests were honored with a luncheon at the Dabney-Scott-Adams House, headquarters of the Foundation. The day was concluded by a visit to the grave of Mr. Owen and a tour of Point of Honor, now under restoration by the Foundation.

While it does seem that more than two decades is more time than would be required to pay tribute to one of Oklahoma's first two United States Senators, yet the hospitality of the hosts, the wonderful efforts of Mayor Read, Judge Sweeney, Mrs. Watson, Mrs. Massie, and their respective committees, the glorious fall weather in some way did seem to make up for the delay.

Fire Marshall's Report On The Historic Colony School

Fire destroyed this Historic School Building, built by John H. Seger, Superintendent of the School, along with the help of other settlers and the Indians in 1888 to 1890 (site in Washita County). The fire was discovered by John Butterbaugh, custodian of the present elementary school located on the same grounds. This was at 8:30 p.m. of 9/6/71.

The burned building was 36 x 100 ft., constructed of bricks which were molded and baked on the grounds by the superintendent and early day Indians. The building was two stories in height; walls were approximately 14 inches in thickness; a basement was located in the center of the building, and a bell tower was located at the east from center of building which was equal to three stories.

The interior walls and ceilings were wood lath and plaster; floors were wood and the roof was gable with wood shingles. This building was in very poor condition before the fire. All of the windows and doors were gone; much junk material was present in the building and interior walls were partially wrecked by vandals. Many previous small fires have occurred in this building through the years.

Mr. Gene Flaming, Principal of the Colony Elementary School, stated the Annual Cheyenne-Arapaho Pow-wow had been in session for four days; during this time a large group of people came in from all areas of the United States and several hundred were present. Each year at this Pow-wow; also, at the weekend Pow-wows held during the year, a concentrated effort is made to control the crowd and protect the school property, which is located immediately south of the park and camp grounds used for the Pow-wow.

Mr. Flaming stated that during school hours they usually were able to control the crowds, but after school hours and on Saturday and Sunday it was impossible to keep the children and young adults off the school grounds and out of the old Historic School Building, even though the Indians had their own police patroling the area; also, county officers and Highway Patrol Officers were present at all times.

For years at each Pow-wow from one to three small fires have occurred in the old Historic Building and caused from smoking and parties going on in the building, however, due to heavy patroling, the fires were quickly extinguished.

Mr. Adrian Crabb, Superintendent of Schools, and Mr. Flaming, Principal, stated the older building caused many

problems and for years had caused concern for the safety of the students. Even though the school children had strict orders to stay away from the building, they could not be controlled after school hours. Mr. Crabb stated plans were to demolish the building; then, the Historical Society expressed a desire to restore the building and this met with his approval. Mr. Crabb stated he sincerely wanted the building made safe, with a fence around it to keep unauthorized persons out, or wanted it torn down and the area cleaned up.

A number of area citizens were contacted concerning the site; all stated they were tired of the building being left there in its present state, but were happy to hear plans were started for its restoration.

No evidence of any kind could be found to indicate this fire was a malicious nature. No ill feelings could be found among school patrons or town people in general; one person expressed the fact that she welcomed the historic site in Colony, as the town needed the attraction for tourist.

Mrs. Harvey Weichel lives across the street north of the Pow-wow area; she stated she has witnessed many Pow-wows and many beautiful programs and dances are offered which are interesting, however, she did notice that this year's program was not as well organized as past Pow-wows and the children and adults, alike, were harder to control.

Undersheriff, Dave Dobbs, and Deputy Sheriff, T. K. Butler, were on the grounds for the four days and nights; stated it took all of the law enforcement officials, and then some, to control the large crowd and regular patrols were made by the abandoned school building trying to keep people away, but it was impossible to do. On several patrols evidence was found of drinking; also, one instance teenagers were found sniffing glue, and a total of 15 arrests were made during the Pow-wow for different offenses.

Custodian John Butterbaugh was interviewed by the Deputy Sheriff and the Undersigned Agent. John lives on the school ground with his family; his home is approximately

200 ft. in a southwest direction from the burned building, and John stated he kept a constant watch on all the buildings during the Pow-wow, since the Indian children used the school playground when school was not in session. Children and young adults were in the old building most all the time; it was impossible to keep them out and he has put out small fires on previous meetings.

John stated the Colony Fire Department was called at noon on Saturday to put out a fire in an old divan, which had started from children smoking; later in the evening, John again noticed smoke coming from the north end of the first floor area. This time he responded with a garden hose and found some children stamping out a fire which they had started in some junk lumber and trash.

Around 7:45 p.m., on Monday, 9/6/71, another fire broke out in the center of the building on the first floor. This fire, again, was put out by John and the children that set it; about 45 minutes later, John stated he looked back toward the building and heavy billows of smoke were coming from the basement area and was getting up on the first floor. He immediately called the Colony Fire Department. Chief Treadway stated that when they arrived with the fire truck, fire involved the entire building. It was necessary to call other towns for assistance. Flying embers were threatening the gymnasium, which is approximately 96 ft. away from the burning building; also, the classroom building, which is 135 ft. away.

Chief Treadway stated that Corn, Clinton, Weatherford, Cordell and Eakley sent men and fire equipment to help combat the fire. The fire was so large that nothing could be done to stop it and all efforts had to be made to keep exposed buildings from catching on fire. An elevated water tank is located on the school ground, but is not sufficient for a fire of this magnitude.

The fire completely destroyed the main building; also, a 26 X 33 ft. building joined by a 6 ft. hallway, which had been used for restrooms. This building was a single story with brick walls and was 16 ft. west from the main structure.

It is felt by all persons making this investigation that the fire was definitely set, either intentionally or accidently, by children or young adults attending the Pow-wow. Much evidence was found of heavy drinking taking place in and around the building; possible, someone wanted to stir up some excitement — not realizing the fire would get out of control.

Mrs. Lena Seger Cronk and her granddaughter was on the scene Wednesday, 9/8/71. Mrs. Cronk stated they were at the old school building on Sunday, 9/5/71; Mrs. Cronk was deeply interested in the restoration of the building and was showing her granddaughter around the building. Mrs. Cronk stated children were in the building at this time, were smoking, and offered them some cigarettes. Mrs. Cronk related much of the history of the school and stated the building was restored in 1951, but has been wrecked again. Mrs. Cronk felt efforts should have been made long ago to restore the building and she also felt that children were responsible for the fire.

Three remaining walls were left after the fire, which were very dangerous. Mr. Mike Berman was contacted by the State Fire Marshal's Office concerning these walls and Mr. Berman stated they should be torn down.

County Commissioner Harvey Weichel and his men brought in a heavy crane and removed the taller sections of the walls. All debris from the fire should be removed soon and the basement filled to prohibit any student from being hurt.

—Julius Pierce, Agent
State Fire Marshal

September 13, 1971

— Along The Trail —
Report On The Oklahoma Historical Society
Submitted By Elmer L. Fraker
October 20, 1971

When Martha Blaine, Chief Curator, took a leave of absence from the staff of the Oklahoma Historical Society (August 6, 1971), considerable reorganization was necessary

in the Museum. This reorganization was accomplished easily, because of the high quality of the Museum staff.

Ralph "Rocky" Jones was transferred from the evening staff to the position of Museum Curator and Joe Todd, who had been an in-training docent, took over the duties formerly performed by Mr. Jones. A new employee was added to the Museum staff, when Robert Conroy was placed in the position of Assistant Exhibits Technician.

A rather unusual condition exists on the third floor of the Historical Society Building, because of the new staff arrangements. All six members of the staff working on the third floor have an average age of 27 years. We call them the members of our kindergarten. All of them are bright, dedicated young people. We prophesy they will go far in the profession.

Two unusually fine additions have been made to the Museum collections this quarter. One was the acquiring, from Station WKY—TV, the first color camera ever to be used to make local broadcasts. It was also the first color television camera to be used west of the Mississippi. The other was the fine collection of materials that once belonged to Wiley Post, world-famous Oklahoma aviator, and part of the instruments from the plane he and Will Rogers were killed in at Point Barrow, Alaska. The Wiley Post collection was given to the Society by his brother, Gordon Post.

Mr. Jones has been singly honored by being invited to attend the American Association of State and Local History Seminar to be held at Old Sturbridge Village, Massachusetts, November 8 — 19. Several Museum staff members attended the Mountain-Plains Conference held in Lincoln, Nebraska, in September.

All documents now in the Museum's possession, which should be in other departments, are being transferred to those departments. An example of this is many items now in the Museum are being placed in the Indian Archives because they are archival materials rather than Museum pieces. The same can be said for transferals to the Library.

After nineteen years of dedicated service to the Oklahoma Historical Society, Miss Katherine Ringland has resigned. This quiet, little lady is loved by all who know her. As the Union Room Curator, she has done a wonderful job. Everyone regrets seeing this fine employee retire. The Society is not going to lose her entirely, however, because she is going to be a docent on the Museum staff, spending considerable time in the Union Room on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

A department of the Society that continues to grow by leaps and bounds is that of the Library. Since January 1, 1971, more than a half- million items have been added to its collections. Included in this list are U.S. District Court Records, Johnston County and Indian Territory Records, R. L. Williams Estate papers, and Selective Service Records.

In the Picture Division of the Library, a considerable volume has been handled, with 693 photographs being sent. Eight hundred and seventy-five rolls of genealogical film have been received.

Mrs. Simpson helped with a two-day genealogical workshop in Pawhuska. Mrs. Atkins and Mrs. Campbell attended the Special Library Association Workshop in Bethany.

Field trips for the Library were made by Mrs. Simpson when she spent one day in Perry at the Cherokee Strip Museum arranging for copying of research materials.

A new acquisition for the Library comes from the gift by the D.A.R. State Library of all their microfilm holdings on deposit with the Society.

Reports from the Historic Sites Department read like a repeat account. Progress is being made at every site.

At the Sequoyah Home, Mr. Humphrey is making great efforts to furnish the interior of the Sequoyah cabin as it was in the days when Sequoyah lived there. A work table, stools, chair, bed, cooking utensils, broom and other artifacts have

been installed which lend credence to its homey atmosphere.

Mrs. Costner has secured workers to clean out the barn and to refurbish the agricultural implements found therein at the Peter Conser facility. In the Peter Conser House, itself, continuing restoration is taking place. Modern kitchen cabinets have been removed as well as all electric switches and outlets. Minor repairs have been done to the walls and some have been repainted. The central heating and air-conditioning unit has been placed in the house and is working perfectly. Mrs. Costner says that plenty of good, pure water is now on hand for the site.

The County Commissioners have completed work on the access road and parking facilities at the Old Chief's House. As soon as the report has been received concerning those who have taken the test for Curator at this site, the Administrative Secretary will select one. When this is done, one of the finest historic sites in the possession of the Society will be functioning.

Using artifacts uncovered during the archaeological excavations made at Fort Washita, Mr. Fricke is installing displays, making use of such artifacts. A Fort Washita diorama is being made by Henry Klippell and should soon be installed.

Mrs. Lokey at the Chickasaw Council House, reports that the new glass entryway to the cover building has been constructed, affording better temperature control for the interior and making the building more easily accessible to the public. The Curator at the Chickasaw Council House has completed more than 1,000 individual files in making an inventory of the items on display and in storage there.

Mr. Bureman and the Administrative Secretary have made two trips to the Cabin Creek Battlefield, where ten granite markers have been set up, which indicate the approximate location of the various units of both the Confederate and Federal forces at the beginning of the battle. With the construction of a circle drive at the site and the building of a

good access road, it should be one of the more attractive historic sites owned by the Society.

Work is continuing on restoring the old Carnegie Library Building at Guthrie. The exterior of the building has been sandblasted and pointed and the contract has been let for refurbishing the vestibule and entrance area of the interior.

The Administrative Secretary has secured the services of Harold Bowen to take the place of Jack Roberts who resigned as custodian at the Guthrie site.

The Jim Thorpe House has been completely restored and is now ready for installation of interior furnishings. When this is done, a curator will be secured to take over the work at that place and the facility will be opened to the public.

This year has been a banner one from the standpoint of attendance at Historical Society Museums and Sites. There has been a slight decrease in attendance at the Main Museum brought about by the disruption of streets in the vicinity of the Historical Society Building. Despite this handicap, 215,000 people went through the Main Museum.

During the past twelve months the following number of people visited the various facilities of the Oklahoma Historical Society: Main Museum, 215,000; Chickasaw Council House, 5,500; Erin Springs Mansion, 3,700; Foreman Home, 2,065; Fort Washita, 80,000; Peter Conser House, 1,800; Sequoyah Home, 16,000; Sod House, 12,000. The Foreman Home and the Peter Conser House were not open for the full year, hence the figures at those two places are less than they would be on a year's basis.

The foregoing would indicate that more than 330,000 people visited the Museums and Sites of the Oklahoma Historical Society within the past twelve months.

Many groups of 4th, 5th and 6th graders from the Oklahoma City schools are taking training at the Society with ten well-trained docents doing the teaching. This program is

entitled, "Opening Doors to Education". Since its beginning on October 4, there have been an average of 260 children per day visiting the Museum four days a week. A trip through the Main Museum in the Oklahoma Historical Society Building will frequently show these groups gathered around their teacher examining artifacts and learning about some of the facts that made Oklahoma what it is. We consider this one of the most important programs being carried on by the Oklahoma Historical Society.

A drop in the production of microfilm has been observed in the Newspaper Department, as pointed out by Mr. Wettengel, due to the retirement of Mr. Tilly. This left Mrs. Moran as the sole operator during August. A new operator has taken the place made vacant by the retirement of Mr. Tilly.

The Newspaper Department Supervisor, Mr. Wettengel, gave a talk and used slides at the meeting of the Oklahoma City Arts Council on September 22. His talk told of the activities of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Besides the usual work of editing *The Chronicles*, Miss Wright has prepared ten short biographies for Choctaw History and has written one on-site marker inscription and two roadside marker inscriptions. She has made talks to the Oklahoma City Anthropoligical Society and appeared on the D. A. R. program.

One of the most unusual and distinguishing honors has come to Miss Wright from Mrs. Richard Nixon, wife of the President of the United States. This was a Certificate of Recognition for her efforts in the preservation of our national heritage. The Certificate was awarded to Miss Wright at the National Indian Women's Association Meeting at Lawton, at which time she was also the recipient of a Distinguished Service Award as the outstanding Indian woman of the twentieth century.

More than 1,000 pages of manuscript have been Xeroxed by Mrs. Looney and she has assisted 250 researchers in the

Indian Archives. Among outstanding researchers who have visited the Archives are Dr. J. Stanley Clark, Oklahoma City University; Dr. Dan Littlefield, University of Arkansas; Dr. Craig Miner, Wichita State University; Dr. Howard Meredith, University of Oklahoma; Dr. Donald Berthrong, Purdue University; and Dr. R. Palmer Howard, University of Oklahoma Medical School.

With the tremendous growth of the activities of the Oklahoma Historical Society, it has been necessary to increase the clerical staff in the office of the Society. An additional assistant to Mrs. McIntyre has been secured. She is Mrs. Alta Bryant.

We regret to announce the resignation of Miss Valerie Snyder, as Evening Curator. She has held this position ever since it was created and has done an outstanding piece of work. She is resigning to complete her masters degree in library science at the University of Oklahoma. We greatly regret losing this fine employee.

BOOK REVIEWS

Four Years in the Stonewall Brigade. By John O. Casler. Reprint of 1893 edition, done at Guthrie, I. T., with foreword and Notes by Dr. James I. Robertson, Jr. (Dayton, Ohio: Morningside Book Shop 1971, pp xvi, 351, $10.00).

This is the heroic yet artless story penned by John Overton Casler, thirty years after he clomped out of Western Virginia's mountains as a member of Company A, 33rd Virginia Infantry of June 6, 1861. Six weeks later he stood with the 33rd as a part of the Stonewall Brigade at the first Battle of Bull Run. Casler, no model soldier by his own admission, had heroic staying power and missed hardly an engagement in which the brigade participated until his capture in front of Winchester in February, 1865.

Casler's limited education doubtless saved him from the stilted, saccharin narrative of his times that has ruined so many memoirs of the Civil War. He tells a straight forward story of the Confederate infantryman's life, its boredom, its day-to-day tedium, its frolic, its heroism, and its tragedy.

Indeed, John Casler must have been the despair of his commanding officers. In defiance of orders, he foraged shamelessly, stole chickens, drank heavily and went AWOL numerous times. This brought him a total of five court-martials. Once he cut the skirts from his colonel's saddle for leather to sustain his on-the-side boot repair business.

Casler returned to his Springfield (by then it was a part of West Virginia) home following the war, married and apparently achieved some success as a building contractor until removing to Texas in 1877.

The final thirty-seven years of Casler's life were spent in the Sooner State. He reached Oklahoma City with 20,000 others on April 22, 1889. Here he established a contracting business and built an impressive home at 404 Chickasaw

Street. In 1892, he organized the Oklahoma City Camp, United Confederate Veterans and was the mover in forming twenty-five other UCV posts in the territory. In this period he became Territorial Commander of the UCV, and was twice elected justice of the peace.

Apparently the author began writing his story soon after arriving in Oklahoma. The first printing sold rapidly; but it was thirteen years before a second edition appeared, liberally edited by Major Jedediah Hotchkiss, a brilliant New Englander turned Confederate, who was Jackson's topographical engineer and credited for much of the brigade's success. The Hotchkiss addition to Casler's book made it an authoritative work on the "Stonewall Brigade." George Southall Freeman quotes this book sixteen times in "Lee and His Lieutenants."

Business reverses and personal problems seem to have beset Casler after about 1900. By 1905, the Oklahoma City directory lists Casler simply as a shoemaker. In June 1911, he entered the Confederate Soldiers home at Ardmore, and died there at the age of eighty-seven on January 8, 1926. His *Four Years in the Stonewall Brigade* written in Oklahoma City is a historical record giving the memories of a southern soldier over one hundred years ago whose experiences and spirit were shared by many who came to Oklahoma in 1889.

—Paul L. Bennett

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

The Black West. By William Loren Katz. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1971. Pp. 336. Ills. $12.50.)

William Loren Katz has long experience as a high school history teacher and has been researching black contributions to American history for nearly thirty years. Professor Katz is presently a faculty member of Teachers College, Columbia University. He has served as a consultant to the New York State Department of Education and to President John F.

Kennedy's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development. He is the author of *Eyewitness: The Negro in American History*, *Teachers Guide to American Negro History*, and has contributed articles to scholarly journals and popular magazines.

The ". . . almost total neglect accorded black westerners by . . . movies, books and TV" is the reason for *The Black West.* The author maintains that scholars have consistently painted western history with an all white brush, "although black explorers, adventurers, missionaries, trappers, cowboys, homesteaders and soldiers traveled the length and breadth of this land, they were omitted when history was put in print." Therefore, this volume is an ambitious attempt to fill a void in the works of such notable historians as Frederick Jackson Turner, Ray Allen Billington and a host of lesser lights.

The book is logically divided into eleven chapters which include black explorers, fur traders, early settlers, slavery, cowboys, homesteaders and soldiers. One chapter is devoted entirely to the blacks in the state of Oklahoma. The narrative is on a level that most junior high school students could comprehend. The author uses a simple informal style punctuated by slang and frequent exaggeration. He is sometimes dogmatic and on occasion incorrect. The volume is illustrated — and the illustrations add to rather than detract from the work. A good index is provided. The type is easy to read and the book is of excellent physical quality.

There are several criticisms. The volume does not contain footnotes. It should be properly documented. The bibliography — while useful — is severely limited. Moreover, like most authors of Afro-American history, Katz does not mention free black ownership of slaves. Nevertheless, *The Black West* — if not unique — is a welcome volume that will help fill an aged void. The author's attempt to illuminate the roles and contributions of blacks in the history of the American West is achieved.

—R. Halliburton, Jr.

Tahlequah, Oklahoma

NECROLOGIES

William Finley Semple
1883 — 1969

The name of William Finley Semple has been associated with Choctaw affairs since the turn of the century. Born at Caddo, Indian Territory in the present Bryan County on March 16, 1883, the son of Charles Alexander Semple and Minnie Pitchlynn Semple, he attended Jones Academy near McAlester and graduated from Washington and Lee University at Lexington, Virginia in 1907. He set up his law practice in Durant specializing in land titles. He was elected to the House of Representatives in the 2nd Oklahoma State Legislature, from Caddo, Oklahoma. He was appointed Attorney for the Choctaw Tribe and later served as counsel for the Bureau of Indian Affairs during the administration of President William Howard Taft.

President Woodrow Wilson appointed Mr. Semple, Principal Chief of the Choctaws in which capacity he served from 1918 to 1922. He came to Tulsa in 1932 as general counsel for Deep Rock Oil Corporation and served as its Chief Counsel for seventeen years until his retirement in 1949. With his retirement from Deep Rock he again opened his law office fighting many legal battles as tribal attorney for the Choctaws and the Creeks.

The Choctaws retained more of their tribal lands than any of the Five Civilized Tribes at the close of their tribal governments in 1907. On August 25, 1959, Congress authorized the Choctaw tribal council to dispose of the remaining property that included 16,500 acres of land on which the tribe retained 1/2 of the minerals. It was with the disposition of this property that Mr. Semple was concerned during his third tenure as Choctaw Attorney.

His book, *Oklahoma Indian Land Titles*, published in 1952 by the Thomas Law Book Company of St. Louis is used in the universities as a text. He was an admirer of Judge Isaac C. Parker of Fort Smith and presented some of the Judge's law books to the University of Tulsa in 1960. Mr. Semple was awarded the Golden Legion of Phi Delta Theta in 1955.

The wife of William Finley Semple, Clara Petty Semple, died on June 11, 1966, after fifty-six years of marriage. Mr. Semple's maternal great, great grandfather was Major John Pitchlynn, a former officer in the colonial army who came to live with the Choctaws in Mississippi in 1774. He is described in contemporary journals as "the man who knew Pushmataha best."

Major Pitchlynn was appointed official Choctaw interpreter during President George Washington's administration and served for many years in this capacity. He was present during the negotiations at the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek in 1830, whereby the Choctaws gave up their lands in Mississippi and immigrated to the Indian Territory. He

WILLIAM FINLEY SEMPLE

was married to Sophia Folsom. She came west to Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) with her son, Peter Perkins Pitchlynn, the Major being too old to travel. She lived to the age of one-hundred years and is buried in the old Garland Cemetery in McCurtain County.

Peter Perkins Pitchlynn, Mr. Semple's great grandfather attended Choctaw Academy in Kentucky set up by Vice President Richard M. Johnson for outstanding Indian Boys, and later attended what is now Vanderbilt University. He practiced law in Arkansas and the Choctaw Nation. He was tribal attorney and delegate when the debate over questions relating to the Indian Removal from Mississippi was before Congress and on February 3, 1849, delivered a devastating attack on a bill in Washington which had the effect of delaying the question.

After the Civil War, as Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation, Peter P. Pitchlynn negotiated for the surrender of the Confederate Choctaws on June 19, 1865. The U. S. Government commissioners charged the Indian nations with treasonable conduct for having joined the Confederate States. The Choctaws maintained that the Federal government had abandoned them in the Indian Territory at the outbreak of the War; they had fought for their land in the great conflict, and still remained a nation at its close. As a result, a new treaty was drafted and signed at Washington, D. C., on April 28, 1866, providing that the Choctaw Leased District lands west of the 98th Meridian in Indian Territory be given over for settlement by the Plains tribes; all tribal land east of the 98th Meridian, south of the Arkansas and Canadian rivers, remained in the title of the Choctaw Nation, in which the Chickasaws shared in part.

The Choctaws were forward looking in matters of education as evidenced by the establishment of Spencer, Fort Coffee, Armstrong and Jones academies for boys in their new nation west, as well as Wheelock, Goodwater, New Hope and Tuskahoma academies for girls. From 1834 to 1907, the Choctaws had their own constitution and laws. The Nation was divided into judicial districts, and its citizens elected their county and national officers, — council (legislative) members, lighthorsemen, clerks and judges. Well versed in the Choctaw government and its laws and treaties, William Finley Semple served his people faithfully for many years. He was an outstanding member of a noted Choctaw family and a descendant of Presbyterian missionaries whose lives were devoted to Christian culture in the history of Oklahoma.

—John E. Ingram

Tulsa, Oklahoma

William Penn Couch
1910 — 1971

William Penn Couch, retired United States Air Force Lieutenant Colonel, devoted his life to service of his country: as a boy who studied to show himself approved and win honors of his state, his school and himself; as a man who devoted himself to business, and then to the

business of his state, serving in both houses of the State Legislature; and as an enlisted member in the armed forces of his country. He was carrying on in the tradition of his pioneer family that has been identified with the old Indian Territory and Oklahoma for over 125 years.

The first Couch, John, of South Carolina who moved to Mississippi and Georgia, and later to Texas, came with his family to the old Cherokee nation enroute home to Texas after traveling in a wagon train to Utah and the California gold fields. After the Civil War, his son, James Clark Couch. a freighter and merchant made long cattle drives over the Texas Road from the Italy-Waxahachie Texas area through the Indian Nations to Kansas, finally going on to Kansas City. It was on these trips that the Couch cattle herds were held for grazing in the Verdigris River Valley near the present town of Alluwe, the area which later became the Couch Ranch. It was on one of these trips that Couch, carrying money from his cattle sale, escaped from pursuing robbers with help from a railroad conductor who invited Couch into the private car of the President of the United States for a safe ride back to Texas.

His son, Herbert Franklin Couch, reared in the lush cotton lands of East Texas, came North to the Indian Territory, the land over which his father had driven cattle. He came to the area his father had visited, now Nowata and Rogers counties, arriving in December, 1894. He settled in Chelsea where in 1896 he married Ida May Coker, a native of the Coker Hills Area where her family had settled in 1867. Her mother, Eliza Bullett, was the 125th Delaware to come from Kansas to the Indian Territory. This family has left its imprint in this area with place names in Nowata, Rogers and Tulsa counties. She was a descendant of the Cherokee Chief John Rogers, who had come to the Territory in the early 1800's.

The Couches settled on lands in the Alluwe district where they developed wide farming and livestock interests, and operated a store on Salt Creek, a landmark in the early years of the century. The store became the target of frequent visits of outlaw gangs. After it was burned, Herbert Franklin Couch moved his business to Pumpkin Center and entered the oil and gas business during the boom days of Oklahoma's first oil field.

It was to this family in their ranch home that William Penn Couch was born February 22, 1910. He grew up in that area, and attended Salt Creek School in the community. He later graduated from Nowata High School. He was a member of championship judging teams in six fields. He was twice a member of world championship judging teams and won 208 awards in one year, a world's record. He served as president of the Nowata county and northeastern district 4-H Club organizations, and later as president of Oklahoma 4-H Clubs. After high school, Mr. Couch attended Oklahoma State University. He left college to operate the Couch store at Pumpkin Center and also to engage in farming and ranching.

A life-long Democrat, Mr. Couch had early developed a real interest in politics. He made his first race for office in 1934, and won the election for Nowata County Representative. He served in the State

WILLIAM PENN COUCH

Capitol 1934 to 1938. He then was elected to the office of State Senator from the Rogers-Nowata counties district. He served from 1938 to 1942. During the eight years of his legislative service, Couch did not miss a vote, piling up 4750 consecutive votes which became a world's record. Couch is credited with much of the state road system in Nowata and Rogers counties.

He left the State Senate to enter the armed forces at the beginning of World War II. He enlisted in the army, serving in the infantry as a private and later a corporal. He then was sent to officers candidate school, receiving a commission as a second lieutenant in the quartermaster corps. He was detailed to duty with the army air corps, and won promotions to 1st lieutenant, captain and major when he left active duty for service in the reserves. When the army air corps became the United States Air Force, Couch changed his branch of service. He returned to active duty in May 1952 and was a lieutenant colonel when he retired after twenty-four years of service.

Couch served during World War II, the Korean and Vietnamese actions. He spent seventy-two months on duty in Asia, Africa, Europe and South America. He was an accountable property officer with the air transport command, engaged in closing United States bases abroad. While on duty in Africa, in France and Germany, Couch was in charge of Italian and German prisoners of war, assisting in the war crimes trials conducted by the Judge advocate division. During his military career, he was awarded campaign ribbons in World War II and European and Asiatic war zones.

Mr. Couch retired from military service August 1, 1966 and returned to Nowata to make his home again. He interested himself in affairs of the area of Nowata, Rogers and Craig counties. Again he became interested in politics, and was preparing to return to business as operator of a curio shop. The veteran legislator again had interested himself in youth work. He had memberships in the VFW, American Legion, and Farmers Union.

Mr. Couch died at his home in Nowata on March 22, 1971, from a heart attack, at the age of 61 years, 28 days. He left to mourn his death two brothers, V. Clark and Herbert F. Couch living near Alluwe; and four sisters, Leola Reinhardt of Albuquerque, New Mexico; Wanda Strain of Nowata; and Elna and Elaine Couch of near Alluwe. Afternoon funeral services were conducted in the Alluwe Methodist Church where his family had long been attendants. Interment was in the family plot at Nowata Memorial Park Cemetery.

Those who knew him best — the life-long friends — say that Mr. Couch was a gentleman of honor and integrity ... a man.

—Jennie M. Bard

Chelsea, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

October 28, 1971

A feeling of expectancy prevailed as President George H. Shirk called the October Quarterly Board Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society to order at 10:00 a.m. in the Board Room of the Historical Building. This was to be the meeting during which the Executive Committee would announce the nomination of a new Administrative Secretary for the Society.

Members attending the meeting were: Lou Allard, Mrs. George L. Bowman, Q. B. Boydstun, Joe W. Curtis, Dr. E. E. Dale, Harry L. Deupree, M.D., W. D. Finney, Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Bob Foresman, Mrs. John D. Frizzell, Sen. Denzil D. Garrison, Dr. A. M. Gibson, Morton R. Harrison, W. E. McIntosh, Dr. James D. Morrison, Fisher Muldrow, H. Milt Phillips, Earl Boyd Pierce, Genevieve Seger, and H. Merle Woods.

Those members absent were: Henry Bass, John E. Kirkpatrick, and Joe W. McBride. Mr. McIntosh moved and Miss Seger seconded a motion excusing those members who had advised they would be unable to attend. The motion passed.

After having called the roll, Mr. Fraker, in his Administrative Secretary's Report, told of the many gifts presented to the Society during the past quarter and advised that while there had been no new Life Members, forty-five people had applied for annual membership in the Society. A motion was made by Dr. Fischer and seconded by Dr. Deupree approving the applications for membership and the motion carried.

Mr. Fraker told of his appearance at the Agency Interview for Review of Budget for Fiscal Year 1972-1973 at the Budget Office in September. An ever-increasing budget request indicates how the Society has been expanding in the past years.

A new curator, said Mr. Fraker, has been appointed to the Oklahoma Historical Society staff at the Chief's Old House near Swink. Mr. Towana Spivey, who is also an archaeologist, will assume his duties on November 1, 1971.

Mr. Fraker called the Board's attention to the amount of work involved in erecting the various types of historical markers. The seven-foot monolith markers, such as the Petroleum Exposition marker in Tulsa, are usually requested by an organization or community who contribute one-half of the cost. The staff of the Oklahoma Historical Society handles the details of research, manufacturing, and installation.

The ten markers at Cabin Creek, reported the Administrative Secretary, which will give the approximate location of Union and Confederate forces at the beginning of the battle of Cabin Creek, are being manufactured by a Kansas firm. This particular job, under state regulations, was put up for bidding, with the job going to the lowest bidder. However, much time and expense was involved in traveling back and forth to supervise the construction and installation.

At this point, Mr. Fraker paid special tribute to the staff members of the Oklahoma Historical Society for their cooperation with him through the many years of his administration.

The Indian Meridian Marker in the town square at Langston should be declared a historic site, according to Mr. Fraker. Steps are being taken to landscape the immediate area. Mr. Fraker suggested that at the time official ceremonies take place at the marker, Mr. McIntosh be there as a representative of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Miss Seger moved and Mr. Muldrow seconded a motion there be an official Oklahoma Historical Society marker approved for this spot in Langston. This motion was approved by all the Board.

Mrs. Mae Post, widow of Wiley Post, famed Oklahoma aviator, has presented the Oklahoma Historical Society a number of items belonging to him, including his Air Medal. Mr. Fraker said this was one of the first of this type medal ever presented to a civilian by the United States Government.

Mrs. Bowman, Treasurer, directed the attention of the Board to the cash receipts and disbursements of the Society for the Special Funds during the past quarter and also read the Endowment Trust Fund figures for the same period. Mr. Pierce moved and Mr. Muldrow seconded a motion to approve the Treasurer's report as read. The motion was adopted.

Mr. Phillips, Newspaper Committee Chairman, prefaced his report by expressing appreciation to Mrs. LaJeanne McIntyre, Accountant, for her work for the Society not only as a staff member, but for providing for the table arrangements and refreshments for the Board Meetings. Flowers from her own garden are frequently used, and this gesture on her part has contributed greatly to the meetings.

There has been an increase of 250,000 pages in micro-filming so far this year. Over $2,000 extra was spent in accomplishing this increase, however. Mr. Phillips expressed the hope for one million pages this year. since the department is back on a regular production schedule.

The Battle of Round Mountain will be commemorated on November 6, 1971, by the dedication of a marker at a site just west of Tulsa. Mr. McIntosh, Historic Sites Committee Chairman, also advised a quit claim deed is being prepared for the acquisition of the Perryman Cemetery located in Tulsa. Another cemetery in the Tulsa area which the Oklahoma Historical Society hopes to obtain is that in which Chief Pleasant Porter is buried.

As a passing observation, Mr. McIntosh wondered if the present roadside markers, which are located on highways throughout the state, might ultimately become obsolete because of the higher cruising speed of today's cars. Mr. Fraker said this was already true.

Mr. Fraker reported that the Stand Watie monolith marker would soon be erected in the Polson Cemetery.

An addition to the Historic Sites Committee report was the account by Mrs. Bowman of her trip through the Muskogee-Tahlequah area.

Cities Service Oil Company owns in fee the site of the Oklahoma City discovery well and, reported Mr. Shirk, will present it to the

Oklahoma Historical Society in a ceremony on December 9, 1971. Mr. Phillips moved that the Board accept the warranty deed offered by Cities Service and Miss Seger seconded the motion. All approved.

Dr. Fischer reported on the beehive of activity in the historical field throughout the state. Dr. Fischer's Museum report announced that the Administrative Secretary had appointed Mr. R. W. Jones Curator of the Main Museum in Oklahoma City.

The Library Report was given by Mr. Curtis, who told of increasing attendance, and acquisition of records and manuscripts.

The staff of the Library was singularly honored at a Chamber of Commerce luncheon for Mr. C. R. Anthony, long-time Oklahoma City merchant and philanthropist. Mrs. Manon Atkins, of the Library staff, was a guest of the Chamber. Mr. Curtis advised that prior to the luncheon Mrs. Atkins had been asked to assemble 150 pictures of historic significance for the occasion. The Library will be given a copy of the film which was made from these pictures.

Senator Garrison complimented the staff of the Society, and commented how the morale of the organization has improved over the years. He reminded the Board of the acquisition of Selective Service records of World War II and many, many other collections which have contributed to making the Oklahoma Historical Society Research Library one of the finest in the country.

A growing movement among county clerks and court clerks over the state to destroy all documents after forty years, or after they have been microfilmed, was viewed with alarm by Senator Garrison. Mr. Pierce moved that the Board go on record recommending to the county officers that they continue with their good work in preserving the original documents on file in their respective offices. It was thought that this recommendation might squelch the movement to destroy documents in the counties. Miss Seger seconded this motion, with the rest of the Board voicing their approval.

Mr. Foresman gave a report on the new Education Advisory Committee, comprised of Mr. Foresman, Mrs. Frizzell, Miss Seger, and Mr. Bruce Joseph of the Society staff. Plans are being made for elementary and secondary school publications, teacher workshops, history clubs, newsletters, and awards for outstanding work by students. This program can be made a large and important one, said Mr. Foresman, but will depend on the interest of the Board and the Society staff.

Dr. Loren Brown, who was a guest at the meeting, was asked to speak about the Cleveland County Historical Society. Dr. Brown, formerly President of Northern Oklahoma Junior College at Tonkawa, expressed appreciation to Dr. E. E. Dale and Mr. Fisher Muldrow for their efforts in establishing the Cleveland County Society. Miss Nadine Runyon, of Norman, had obtained interviews and letters from early Cleveland County residents and these were given to Mr. Curtis, Library Committee Chairman, to present to the Oklahoma Historical Society Library.

President Shirk presented the official Executive Committee report to the Board, which announced that Dr. V. R. "Bob" Easterling had been chosen by the Committee for nomination as the new Administrative

Secretary. The report outlined the manner in which Dr. Easterling was chosen, gave instructions to be followed in the transition from one administration to another, and presented Dr. Easterling's personnel data.

Mr. Shirk expressed his appreciation to the Executive Committee for its efforts in making the selection. He said that Governor Hall was advised of Dr. Easterling's nomination and was pleased with the choice. Dr. Easterling, former President of Northern Oklahoma Junior College at Tonkawa, received his doctorate in history, political science, and economics from the University of Colorado, and his B.A. degree at Northwestern Oklahoma State College. He has had wide experience in teaching and administration.

Dr. Gibson moved that the Board elect, by acclamation, Dr. Easterling to the position of Administrative Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mr. Allard seconded the motion, which was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Shirk said that a testimonial dinner will be given for Mr. Fraker sometime in February of 1972. Mr. Phillips moved that a committee be appointed with Mrs. Frizzell as chairman to formulate plans for the dinner. Mr. Woods seconded the motion, which passed.

Mr. Fraker thanked the Board for assisting him and cooperating with him through the seventeen years of his administration, and said he considered the decision to appoint Dr. Easterling a very wise one.

The Memorial given to Senator Robert L. Owen at Lynchburg, Virginia in October was described by Mr. Pierce, who had attended the ceremonies with President Shirk. Senator Owen, former United States Senator from Oklahoma and co-author of the Federal Reserve Act, was honored with the presentation to his family of a bronze plaque which had been cast in Oklahoma. Local Virginia stonemasons had worked all night before the dedication inserting the plaque into the stone pedestal which had been prepared for it.

"Old Central", oldest building on the Oklahoma State University campus at Stillwater, is now listed on the National Register of Historic Sites. This was announced by Dr. Fischer, who advised that the preliminary stages of planning for restoration are in progress. A new foundation for the building is being considered,and the entire restoration procedure should take about three to five years.

Mr. Pierce gave a detailed account of the ceremonies which will commemorate the sesquicentennial of the adoption of Sequoyah's syllabary by the Cherokees. This event will take place in New Echota, Georgia, on October 30, 1971.

Mr. Shirk spoke of the tributes paid to Chief McIntosh for his service to his people, who have proclaimed him the greatest Chief of the Creeks since Chief Pleasant Porter. President Shirk told Chief McIntosh that the Oklahoma Historical Society Board was honored and humbled to have him as a member of the Board. Mr. Phillips added that representatives of all of the Five Civilized Tribes have paid tribute to Mr. McIntosh.

A number of announcements were made by President Shirk. He advised the Board that Dr. Gibson had been nominated to receive the

Pulitzer prize for his book, *The Chickasaws;* that a $5,000 grant had been received from the Interior Department for historic sites work; and a twenty-five year lease had been presented for the acquisition of the Flint County Courthouse, legally described as located in the W 1/2 SE 1/4 NE 1/4, Sec. 20, Twp. 15 N., Range 25 E, Adair County. Sen. Garrison moved that the lease be approved, Dr. Morrison seconded the motion, and it was passed.

Two bronze wall panels have been mounted in the main banking facade of the Liberty National Bank and Trust Company of Oklahoma City at a cost of $40,000. They are entitled "Tribute to Oklahoma's Heritage", and were created by Sculptor George Gach. The panels depict the natural and human resources of the state and the items chosen as representative were approved by the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mr. Phillips moved that Mr. Shirk be authorized to write an appropriate letter of appreciation and that the Society's Certificate of Commendation be given to the Liberty National Bank and Trust Company. Mrs. Bowman seconded the motion and all approved.

Miss Seger expressed her appreciation to the Board for its assistance in attempting to preserve the Seger Colony School. She gave a brief history of the school, which she said was destroyed by arsonists in September of this year. Miss Seger told the Board that many of the Eastern states are rebuilding structures, at great costs, that were torn down during the time these states were new. Oklahoma is young enough that many buildings of historic significance are still standing. However, many communities care little for Oklahoma's history and have no interest in preserving such buildings. She urged the Board members to use their influence to encourage people in their areas, and particularly teachers, to consider the rich heritage that is Oklahoma's and to make every effort to care for and preserve the buildings that are a part of that heritage.

Mr. Fraker requested that the Board approve the presentation of the Society's Certificate of Commendation to Mrs. Janet Newland Campbell for her outstanding work in the cause of developing and promoting the educational work of the Oklahoma Historical Society. She is beginning her second year of volunteer work and does practically all of the clerical and secretarial work for the Education Department. Mr. Phillips moved that this recommendation be approved, and Mr. Curtis seconded the motion, which passed.

Mr. Merle Woods will be inducted into the Oklahoma Hall of Fame by the Oklahoma Heritage Association at the annual dinner on November 16. Mr. Phillips offered the Board's congratulations for this honor.

Dr. Gibson announced that the American Association for State and Local History is planning three national conferences during 1972, one of which will be a Workshop on the Administration of Historical Agencies and Museums to be held January 14-15, 1972, in Norman. Since this workshop will involve and project the work of the Society, the Oklahoma Historical Society should participate.

Dr. Gibson also asked that the Board develop a statement to Henry Bass, who has been seriously ill, that, "He is missed and that we eagerly

anticipate his restoration to full health and his return to the Board meetings".

This concluded the matters before the Board and Dr. Fischer moved that the meeting be adjourned, with Dr. Morrison's second. All approved and the meeting did so adjourn at 12:25 p.m.

ELMER L. FRAKER,
Administrative Secretary

GEORGE H. SHIRK,
President

GIFT LIST FOR THIRD QUARTER, 1971

LIBRARY:

The Life of John McLain Young — During the Early Years of Oklahoma by John M. Young, 1970. Two copies.
Donor: John M. Young of Miami, Florida by Public Library of Enid and Garfield County.

Copper For America — The Hendricks Family and A National Industry 1755-1939. Autographed edition by Maxwell Whiteman, 1971.
Donor: Mrs. Laurence Frank & Mrs. Henry S. Hendricks by Rutgers Univ. Press, New Jersey.

Oklahoma Brand Book, 1970 — First Supplement.
Donor: Oklahoma Cattlemen's Assoc., Brand Division, Oklahoma City.

The Lyre of Alpha Chi Omega, Spring 1971.
Donor: Mrs. George Bowman, Kingfisher, Oklahoma.

Collection of Frank Northup Papers.
Donor: Dorothy E. Basus, daughter of Frank Northup, Oklahoma City, by George H. Shirk.

The Butterfield Overland Mail Through Eastern Oklahoma by I. C. Gunning, 1971.
Donor: Author of Wilburton, Oklahoma.

Spiro Studies: Pottery Vessels, Vol. 3 by James A. Brown; First Part of the Third Annual Report of Caddoan Archaeology — Spiro Research. Stovall Museum of Science and History, Univ. of Oklahoma & Univ. of Okla. Research Institute.
Donor: Museum & Research Institute, Norman.

Leigh, Lee, Lea, Ley, Lay, Loy, Lees, Leas, and Lease Families, Vols. 1, 2, 3, 4, & 5 compiled by Mrs. Edward B. Lee, Long Beach, California.
Donor: Author by Mrs. Leora Bishop of Oklahoma City.

From Millwheel to Plowshare by Julia A. Drake & Jas. R. Orndorff, 1938.

The Kenan Family by James S. Kenan, II, 1967.
Donor: Theron D. Elder, Oklahoma City.

Oklahoma Indian Territory by Ted Byron Hall, 1971.
Donor: Mitzi & J. Rex Barnett of Fort Worth, Texas.

The Petroleum Saga by George E. Sweet, 1969.
Donor: Science Press and Author, Los Angeles.

Agrarian Radicals and Their Opponents: Political Conflict in Southern Oklahoma, 1910-1924, by Garin Burbank; reprints.
Donor: Author, History Dept., Univ. of Saskatchewan, Regina, Canada.

Sandhill Preacher by Joseph E. Aeschbacher, 1971.
Donor: Author, Versailles, Mo.

History of the Spirit Lake Massacre! by Lorenzo Porter Lee, July 1971.
Donor: The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City.

Four Years in the Stonewall Brigade — John O. Casler's revised edition and edited by Dr. James I. Robertson, Jr., 1971.
Donor: Editor, Dayton, Ohio.

The Memoirs of Chief Red Fox, 1971 autographed edition.
Donor: Mrs. Hilda L. Lauber, Oklahoma City.

Ancestry of Sanford Lathadeus Tippin Family of Henderson County, Kentucky, by James J. Tippin, 1940.
The Colonial Courier — National Society Daughters of the American Colonists: Vol. 12, 1967; Vol. 14, 1969-1970; Vol. 15, 1970-1971.
Seventeenth Century Review — Colonial Dames XVII Century: Vol. 7, 1965; Vol. 9, 1967; Vol. 10, 1968; Vol. 11, 1969; Vol. 12, 1970.
Donor: Mrs. Ben W. Musick, Kingfisher, Oklahoma.

"The Story of Seven Eagles."
Footprints of History, Oct. 3, 1949.
Texas — America's Fun-tier, Texas State Highway Inform. Division.
Telephone Directory: Greater Terre Haute (Ind.) including Prairie Creek & Riley, Jan. 1970.
Telephone Directory: Indianapolis & Metropolitan Area, Oct. 1969.
Collection of Genealogical Column from Hartford (Conn.) Times, 1964 thru' 1967.
Early Massachusetts Marriages — Prior to 1800, edited by Frederic W. Bailey, 1968 reprint edition.
Tennessee Cousins — A History of Tennessee People by Worth S. Ray, 1971 reprint.
Early Connecticut Marriages — As Found on Ancient Church Records Prior to 1800 edited by Frederic W. Bailey, 1968 reprint.
Census of the Inhabitants of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, 1774, by John R. Bartlett, 1969 reprint.
Index to Hathaway's Register, compiled & edited by Worth S. Ray, 1971 reprint.
The Ghormley Story by Carmen Ghormley, 1970.
Alphabetical List of Private Claims, 3 vols. 1970 reprint.
The 1840 Iowa Census & Index compiled by R. Owen, H. Blumhagen & W. Adkins, 1968.
Index to the 1830 Federal Census, Illinois compiled by James V. and Maryan Gill, 1970, 4 volumns.
Marriage Records for Bourbon Co., Kentucky 1786-1800 compiled by Elizabeth P. Ellsberry.
Cemetery Records of Camden County, Missouri, Vol. I, compiled by Elizabeth P. Ellsberry.
Marriage Records of Franklin County, Kentucky 1790-1815, Vol. I, compiled by Elizabeth P. Ellsberry.
Marriage Records of Franklin County, Kentucky 1816-1841, Vol. 2, compiled by Elizabeth P. Ellsberry.

Lincoln County, Kentucky Will and Administration Records, Vol. I, compiled by Elizabeth P. Ellsberry.
Marriage Records of Lincoln County, Kentucky 1781-1792 compiled by Eliz. P. Ellsberry.
Will and Probate Records Mason County, Kentucky 1790-1801 compiled by Eliz. P. Ellsberry.
Marriage Records of Mason Co., Kentucky 178901793, 1797-1803 compiled by Eliz. P. Ellsberry.
Marriage Records of Mason Co., Kentucky 1804-1811, Vol. 2 compiled by Eliz. P. Ellsberry.
Marriage Records of Mason Co., Kentucky 1814-1820, Vol. 3 compiled by Eliz. P. Ellsberry.
Mason County, Kentucky Marriage Records, 1820-1833 compiled by Eliz. P. Ellsberry.
Marriage Records of Mason Co., Kentucky, 1834-1844; 1845-1855; 1856-1860 compiled by Eliz. P. Ellsberry.
Mercer Co., Kentucky Marriage Records 1786-1800 & Will Records 1786-1801 compiled by Eliz. P. Ellsberry.
Marriage Records for Nelson County, Ky. 1785-1815 compiled by Eliz. P. Ellsberry.
A History of the Baptist Church at the Stamping Ground, Ky. 1795- by J. W. Singer, 1970.
Early New York State Census Records 1663-1772 by Carol M. Myers.
1830 Federal Census: Territory of Michigan and A Guide to Ancestral Trails in Michigan, published by Detroit Soc. for Genealogical Research, 1961.
Donor: Oklahoma Genealogical Society, Oklahoma City.

Indians of Today by Marion E. Gridley — 4th edition, 1971.
Donor: Editorial Dept. of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.*

Memories of Bethel School, 1971 by Joe Bryant.
Donor: Author, Edmond, Oklahoma.

Oklahoma Tax Commission Personal Directory, 1968-1969; 1970.
Donor: Ray Asplin, Oklahoma City.

Thoughts and Dreams — Poems and Writings of Lena E. Draughon.
Donor: Mrs. Marian Thede, Oklahoma City.

Lincoln County Tennessee Pioneers, Jane W. Waller, Batavia, Ill., editor.
Donor: Clark Hibbard, Oklahoma City.

Drumbeat, Vol. 1, No. 3 Dec. 1964; Nos. 6 & 7 1965.
X — A Decade of Research and Creative Writings By the Faculty of the College of Arts and Sciences, 1950-1959.
Donor: Dr. B. B. Chapman, Orlando, Florida.

Clippings regarding the late Sgt. Gordon Preston Crawford of Oklahoma.
Donor: Mrs. Chester (Gladys) Byrd, sister of Oklahoma City.

Registers — Number 11 — Cherokee Collection of Manuscript Division, Tennessee State Library & Archives, Nashville, Tenn., 1966.
Donor: Jack Baker, Oklahoma City.

Southern Standard — Arkadelphia, Arkansas newspaper collection & clippings, 1971.
Donor: Mrs. Doyle (Mary) Wingfield, Oklahoma City.

Our People and Where They Rest by James W. Tyner and Alice Tyner Timmons, Vols. 4 & 5., 1971.
Donor: The Robert L. Atkins, Oklahoma City.

Copies of 120 United States Congressional Records pertaining to Oklahoma's History.
Donor: Honorable Fred R. Harris, Capitol Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Directory of Ebenezer Presbyterian Church Cemetery — Town of Ebenezer, York, Co., South Carolina by Mabel Jackson, 1955.
Donor: John Cheek, Oklahoma City.

"History of Central State Hospital, Norman, Oklahoma, 1971." by Leland Harrison, Sept. 1971.
Donor: Author, Oklahoma City.

The History of England by T. Smollett, M. D., Vol. 8, 1759.
Donor: Mrs. H.E. (Helen) Bradshaw, Oklahoma City.

Index to Vol. 1 — *Hatchett Notes* by M. P. Hatchett.
Donor: Author, Ada, Oklahoma.

The Founding of Stillwater by B. B. Chapman, 1948.
Donor: Author, Orlando, Florida.

William Aldread and Descendants by Eva Anderson.
Donor: Author, Pennington, New Jersey.

Set of Oklahoma Counties Highway Maps
Donor: Clark Hibberd, Oklahoma City.

Polk's Miami (Okla.) *City Directory, 1966*
Polk's Clinton (Okla.) *City Directory, 1967.*
Polk's Lawton (Okla.) *City Directory, 1968.*
Polk's El Reno (Okla.) *City Directory, 1969.*
Donor: El Reno Chamber of Commerce, El Reno, Okla.

The Boomer and *The Boomer-Collegian* — Yearbook of Senior Class of El Reno High School, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1953 & 1958.
Donor: Mrs. Edna May Armold, El Reno, Okla.

Portrait and Biographical Record of Oklahoma, 1901 — Chapman Publishing Co., Chicago, Ill.
Donor: Julia C. Welch, daughter of Rep. Chas. Carter, at Lynchburg, Va., Sept. 25, 1971 to George H. Shirk.

Map: Stephens County, Okla., 1946 compiled and drawn by Fred F. Roberts, Duncan.
Donor: Patty Lou Eubanks, Oklahoma City.

History of Notable American Houses, 1971 — American Heritage Publishers.
Donor: Mrs. Robert L. Atkins, Oklahoma City.

Thomas and Polly Hardin and Their Descendants by Dr. Robert Allen Hardin, 1968.
Donor: Author, Norman, Oklahoma.

The Journal of the Cherokee Strip, Vol. 13, Sept. 1971.
Donor: Mrs. Ben Musick, Kingfisher.

The Austins and The Frays by Anna May Cackler, 1966.
Donor: Author, Oklahoma City.

Black History in Oklahoma — a resource book by Kaye M. Teall, 1971.
Donor: Oklahoma City Public Schools & School System.

Six Motion Picture Scrapbooks of early Ritz, Rex, etc. Theatres' attractions compiled by the late Ted Jones of Oklahoma City and California.
Donor: Mrs. Vivian Stemm of Oklahoma City, sister of Ted Jones and Mrs. B. J. Wright.

A Branch of the Logan Family Tree by David M. Logan, 1971.
Donor: Author of Okmulgee, Okla.

Copies of Records of Worcester Academy — A Congregational Mission School — Vinita, Cherokee Nation, Indian Territory.
Donor: Daughters of American Colonists, the Lt. Colonel Walter Chiles Chapt. of Northeastern Oklahoma.

Mother's Club Scrapbook No. 2 of Oklahoma City of Oklahoma Military Academy at Claremore, Oklahoma.
Donor: Mrs. Yvonne Bynum, Pres. 1970-1971, Okla. City.

United States Treaties and Other International Agreements, Dept. of State, Wash., D. C., Vol. 19, Parts 2 & 3 1968; Vol. 20, pt. 2.
Foreign Relations of the United States, Vol. 7, 1946 — The Near East and Africa — Dept. of State, Wash., D. C.
Territorial Papers of the United States by Bloom, Vol. 27 — Wisconsin Territory 1836-1839 and Executive Journal 1836-1848, General Services Admin., Wash., D.C.
Writings on American History, 1959.
Minerals Yearbook, Vol. 4, 1967, Area Reports: International, U. S. Dept. of the Interior, Bureau of Mines.
Oklahoma City Opportunities, Industrialization Center, Incorp.
Guide to Publicly-Owned Companies in Oklahoma, 1970.

Program of Eleventh Annual Western Heritage Awards, National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Western Heritage Center at 1700 N.E. 63rd. St., Saturday, April 24, 1971.
SPAAMFAA (Society for the Preservation and Appreciation of Antique Motor Fire Apparatus in America) *Newsletter* No. 71-2, Summer, 1971.
Program of 8th Annual Independence Day Parade and Awards Program — Civic Center Plaza, July 3, 1971.
The Five Civilized Tribes Museum Newsletter, Vol. 4, No. 2, July-Aug., 1971.
Development of Oklahoma Territory by E. H. Linzee, 1940.
Regional Preservation Workshop 1970 — Summary Report, National Trust for Historic Preservation.
The American West, Vol. 8, No. 4, July 1971.
ACOG — The Association of Central Oklahoma Governments — Annual Report, 1971.
Bibliography of Reports and Manuals — United Funds and Community Health and Welfare Councils — Vol. 7, No. 3, July 1971.
Newcomen Society Publications; Following six items:
A Premium on Progress — An Outline History of the American Marine Insurance Market, 1820-1970 by C. Bradford Mitchell, 1970.
The First Sixty Years by Sir George Edwards, C.B.E., 1971.
Arizona Public Service Company — People, Power and Progress by Wm. P. Reilly, 1970.

Oscar Mayer and Company — From Corner Store to National Processor by Oscar G. Mayer, Jr., 1970.
Copper Range Company — The Story of Man's Oldest and Newest Metal by James Boyd.
From Cub to Navajo — The Story of the Piper Aircraft Corporation by W. T. Piper, Jr.
Military Collector and Historian, Vol. 23, No. 1, Spring 1971.
Government By Treason by John Howland Snow.
State of Illinois Historic Preservation Plan, Sept. 1, 1970.
Oklahoma County Bar Association Pictorial Directory, 1971-1975.
Quarterly Supplement to the Oklahoma Bar Journal, Sept. 1971.
Oklahoma County Bar Association Yearbook and Directory of Attorneys, 1971.
Society for Advancement of Management Directory, 1971-1972.
Environmental Inventory — Middle Arkansas River Basin, Sept. 1971.
The Story of A Man – and His Friends by Gilbert Hill, 1971.
Flashback, Vol. 21, No. 3, Aug. 1971.
Pulse of Oklahoma Business, Sept. 1971, Vol. 1, No. 7.
Congressional Record; 91st Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. 116, No. 163 Sept. 18, 1970; Address by Earl Boyd Pierce before Federal Bar Assoc. Convention.
Congressional Record; 89th Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. 112, No. 48, March 21, 1966: Remarks of Earl Boyd Pierce; Extention of Remarks of Hon. Ed Edmondson of Muskogee.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City.

PHOTOGRAPH DIVISION:

418 photo postal cards, France 1917-1943.
Donor: R. A. Helmer, Oklahoma City.

Sgt. Gordon P. Crawford of Oklahoma City.
Donor: Mrs. Chester (Gladys) Byrd, a sister, of Oklahoma City.

George H. Shirk in Chicago, February, 1971.
Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City.

Monument to late Dorothy Jane Orton of Fort Towson and Mrs. Ruth Orton, mother, standing by monument, July 13, 1971.
Donor: Bill Willis, Granite, Oklahoma.

Panoramic photograph taken by Ted E. Marquis of Enid, Okla. of Hoover Oil and Gas Field, Billings, Oklahoma.
Donor: Michigan Historical Collections Division, Rackham Bldg., Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

M. R. Harrison, Andy Payne, Charles E. Parker and Glenn Condon taken May 1928.
Donor: Morton R. Harrison, Tulsa.

Capt. David L. Payne "The Father of Oklahoma" framed etching of promotion poster, 15" x 23".
Donor: John M. Baker, Oklahoma City.

10 glossy photographs of Mayfair Shopping Center fire, Oklahoma City, Aug. 28, 1971.
Donor: Fred Huston, Oklahoma City.

Color postal of Chief William Red Fox.
Black & white postal "The Claim", Sept. 16, 1893 of Mary and David Chaney home near Perry — copy of painting done by grand-daughter, T. Burdick-Virtue.

Donor: Mrs. Hilda L. Lauber, Oklahoma City.

Two unidentified photographs taken by M. L. Williams, El Reno, O. T. and Stoops of Perry, Iowa once property of late Leonidas Cloud of 620 N.E. 30th, Okla. City.

Donor: Mr. & Mrs. Clarence E. Smithee, Walsh, Colorado.

Two framed, unidentified groups: Kingkade Hotel, Okla. City Employees for years 1912 and 1913.

Donor: Jim Edwards, Oklahoma City.

Photograph postal of flooded South Robinson, Oklahoma City flood, June 13, 1916.
158 partially identified photographs and tin-types of May family of Stephens, Grady and Oklahoma counties.

Donor: May family of Oklahoma by Mrs. Patty Lou (Webb) Eubanks, Oklahoma City.

Placque of Edward Everett Dale Hall, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.

Donor: George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City.

Photograph of "Opening of Seminole-Tulsa Airline, Braniff Airlines Corp., McIntyre Airport, April 29, 1929" all unidentified other than late Ted Jones, California and Oklahoma.
148 partially identified early vaudeville, motion picture and stage celebrities photographs among them being: Dolores Costello, Alice Todd, Raymond Hatton, Ray Bolger, Lillian Tashman, Warner Baxter, early Gary Cooper, Louise Fazanda, Winnie Lightner, Bessie Love, Mary Miles Minter, Wallace Reid, Leatrice Joy, Norma Shearer, Adolph Menjo, Lila Lee, Douglas Fairbanks, Dorothy McKaille, Dolores del Rio, Edward Everett Horton, John Barrymore, John Gilbert and Billie Dove.

Donor: Mrs. Vivian Stemm, sister of late Ted Jones, Oklahoma City and Mrs. B. J. Wright, Oklahoma City.

Worcester Academy.
Members of Graduating Class of Worcester Academy: Dick Armstrong, Josie Crutchfield, Ernest Norby and Emily Dickinson.
Photograph of Worcester Academy Diploma of Olive Allen, May 23, 1895.
6 photos of Marker Dedication Ceremonies at Worcester Academy, Aug. 26, 1967.

Donor: Daughters of American Colonists, the Lt. Col. Walter Chiles Chapter of Northeastern Oklahoma.

INDIAN ARCHIVES DIVISION

Special Anniversary Edition "Lawton 1901-1971) published by Institute of the Great Plains.

Donor: Steve Wilson, Lawton, Okla.

Xerox copy: Certificate dated 2/15/05 that J. B. Lynch paid dues Odd Fellows Lodge, Asher, Okla.; Certificate of attendance dated 4/30/04 to Debbie Lynch, School Dist. 81.

Donor: Leora Bishop

Indian Affairs Newsletter, July 1971
Donor: Association on American Indian Affairs, New York, N.Y.

Akwesasne Notes, July/Aug. 1971
Donor: Akwesasne Notes, Roosevelt, N.Y.

Minutes quarterly meet Inter-Tribal Council Five Civilized Tribes, 7/9/71.
Donor: Bureau of Indian Affairs, Muskogee, Okla.

Brochure, "Texas Public Library Statistics for 1970".
Donor: Texas State Library, Austin, Tex.

Mimeographed "Hello Choctaw" dated in 1971
Donor: Oklahoma City Council of Choctaws, Inc., Oklahoma City, Okla.

Henry B. Bass News Letter, May 15, June 15 and July 15, 1971
OIO News Letter, Sept. 1970, Apr. 1971 and May 1971.
Amerindian, The, Jan-Feb, March-April, and May-June 1971.
Donor: N. B. Johnson, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Fort Sill Apache Indians, et al v. U. S., Docket Nos. 30-A & 48-A: Additional Findings of Fact.

Fort Sill Apache Indians, et al. v. U. S., Docket Nos. 30 & 48 and 30-A & 48-A: Interlocutory Order; Final Judgment.

Jicarilla Apache Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 22-A: Order allowing attorney fees.

Texas Cherokee, et al v. U. S., Docket No. 26: Order denying motions for relief from opinion of the Commission.

Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, et al. v. U. S., Docket 18-C: Opinion; Additional Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.

Kiowa, Comanche & Apache Tribes, et al, v. U. S., Docket No. 257: Opinion on Motion for summary judgment; Order admitting exhibits; Order granting motion for summary judgment; Order denying defendant's motion to dismiss claim for failure to prosecute; Order amending findings of fact.

Lemhi Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 326-I: Order dismissing petition in intervention; Findings of Fact on award of attorney's fees.

Cabazon band of Mission Indians of California v. U. S., Docket No. 148: Order allowing attorney fees and expenses.

Nez Perce Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 175: Findings of Fact; Final Award.

Oneida Tribe, et al v. U. S., Docket No. 301: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.

Peoria Tribe, et al v. U. S., Docket No. 289: Order allowing attorney fees and expenses.

Pueblo of Laguna, et al v. U. S., Docket No. 227: Findings of Fact; Order allowing attorney fees.

Quechan Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 320: Opinion; Order.

Samish Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 261: Opinion; Findings of Fact; Interlocutory Order.

Seminole Nation v. U. S., Docket No. 204: Order denying motion to dismiss.

Sioux Tribe v. U. S., Docket nos. 115, 116, 118, 119: Opinion; Order.

Stillaguamish Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 207: Order allowing reimbursement of attorney fees.

Southern Ute Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 328: Final order.

Washoe Tribe v. U. S., Docket No. 288: Order allowing attorney fees.
Donor: Indian Claims Commission, Washington, D. C..

MUSEUMS:

(Historical Building)

Modern trade token.
Donor: R. W. Jones, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Cannonball; inkwell; dishes.
Donor: Mrs. Clarence Harmon, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

High-topped button shoes, worn by Anita Thornton, 1917-1918, sister of donor.
Donor: Mrs. Kaloolah Anders, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Collection of items which belonged to Wiley Post, including shotgun with two barrels; Winchester shotgun; pistol which was in the airplane at the time of the crash which killed Wiley Post and Will Rogers; instruments from plane in which Wiley Post and Will Rogers crashed; Eiderdown sleeping bag used as seat cushion on Wiley Post's first round-the-world flight; wristwatch worn on round-the-world flight; hat presented to Wiley Post by Frank Phillips; necktie worn by Wiley Post; scrap of crinoline from which Mrs. Post fashioned his eyepatches; scrapbook; assorted documents and photographs, all donated by Wiley Post's brother.
Donor: Gordon Post, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Leaf, fossilized, "Callixylon, Devonian Age," found by donor.
Donor: Ervin Warren, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Framed lithograph, "Origin of the Stars and Stripes."
Donor: H. Gordon Bain, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Lifesized portrait of Astronaut Gordon Cooper.
Donor: Oklahoma State Chamber of Commerce, by Mr. Jack G. Springer, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Johnny Bench poster.
Donor: Stadium Productions, Inc., by Ms. Marylyn Aissa, Production Assistant, New York, New York.

Painting of Land Run of 1889 which formerly hung in the First National Bank, Oklahoma City, and the American Legion Hall, Oklahoma City.
Donor: Mrs. Edith Clark, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Photograph, "Old Timers C.S.C.P.A. Cowboy Reunion, Miller Bros., 101 Ranch, September 4, 1921."
Donor: Mrs. Mae Murry Macy, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Brake assembly, similar to that used on the Turnbull wagon.
Donor: Guy Schickedanz, Fargo, Oklahoma.

Governor Cruce inaugural ribbon badge.
Donor: Mrs. William E. Bueker, Jr., Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Handmade 48-star United States flag, made by Emma Miller, sister of donor.
Donor: Mrs. Minnie Batten, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Early dental chair and dental trays.
Donor: Mrs. John L. Powell, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. (In memory of John L. Powell, D.D.S.)

Television camera, part of the original order received by WKY-TV, Oklahoma City, in March, 1954, which enabled WKY-TV to become the first independent station to present local studio programming in full color.
Donor: WKY-TV, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

(Oil Museum)

Commemorative plates distributed at the national convention of the American Association of Petroleum Landsmen, held in Oklahoma City in June, 1971.
Donor: T. B. Wilcox III, General Chairman, American Association of Petroleum Landsmen, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

(Chickasaw Council House)

Biographical sketch of Noah Lael; photocopy of newspaper article about Lael home at Sulphur.
Donor: L. L. Shirley, Wynnewood, Oklahoma.

Photographs and documents.
Donor: Carl R. Brown, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Photographs and tin-types from Harris, Bynum, Harkins, Cheadle, and Johnston families.
Donor: E. B. Harkins, San Pablo, California.

Sewing scissors, found at site of Wapanucka Academy.
Donor: H. B. Ross, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Pill bag and contents, which belonged to Dr. J. W. Ledgerwood, Tishomingo, Indian Territory.
Donor: Helen Ames, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Photograph, track team, Canyon Springs School, Pontotoc County.
Donor: Darias Cravatt, Connerville, Oklahoma.

Photographs and documents from Harris, Johnston, and Harkins families.
Donor: Robert Harkins, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Book, "History of Oklahoma;" photographs.
Donor: Mrs. Sarah Martin, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Photograph, Daniel Hayes; medicine bottle found at site of Harley Institute.
Donor: Mrs. Charles L. Wyatt, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Picture, Amanda Greenwood Mosely; picture, Palmer S. Mosely.
Donor: Mrs. LeRoy Worcester, Bromide, Oklahoma.

Framed pictures, Cyrus Harris; framed picture, Edmund Pickens.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Ernest W. Tate, Ardmore, Oklahoma.

Edison rotary mimeograph machine, patents 1897 - 1906, used in the land office in Tishomingo, I.T., and early years of statehood.
Donor: Charles and Eddie Rutherford, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Photograph, Capitol Avenue, Tishomingo, 1901.
Donor: H. C. Lay, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Photograph, Colbert Ashalatubby Burris, Washington, D. C., 1896, when he represented the Chickasaw Nation in Congress; handwritten appointment of Colbert A. Burris as Commissioner by Cyrus Harris, 1866; pair of ball sticks; letter written in Chickasaw in Indian Territory; translation of abofe letter; book.
Donor: Mrs. Alex Rennie, Durant, Oklahoma.

Watercolor of Council House before restoration.
Donor: Mrs. Ernest Hooser, Durant, Oklahoma.

Plow point, found northeast of Tishomingo.
Donor: Ed King, Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

Twelve jury chairs from the Court Room of the granite council house, placed in 1898.
Donor: Johnston County Commissioners, Tishomingo, Oklahoma, by J. W. Reed, Chairman.

Documents and records previously stored in the attic of the Johnston County Courthouse, dating back to Indian Territory period.
Donor: Johnston County Commissioners, Tishomingo, Oklahoma, by J. W. Reed, Chairman.

(Oklahoma Territorial Museum)

Personal items; books; documents.
Donor: Mrs. Wayne E. Dutcher, Guthrie, Oklahoma. (In memory of Mr. and Mrs. Walter Whitney.)

Books; clothing; personal items.
Donor: Clarice Ray West, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Santa Fe railroad booklets.
Donor: Jack Roberts, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Optical equipment.
Donor: Andy Green, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Eighteen volumes of *Encyclopedia Britannica,* 1891.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Vern L. Chadwick, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Sewing machine with attachments; saw vises.
Donor: Mr. and Mrs. George Gilbert, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Crockery pan.
Donor: Mrs. N. J. Rose, by Mrs. R. L. Fullerton, her daughter, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Oak table; gas light fixture.
Donor: Mrs. A. B. Armstrong, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Photograph, opening of Municipal Bath House, Guthrie, 1913.
Donor: Mrs. Ralph Rodman, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Precinct register, Sprig Creek.
Donor: T. N. Cornwell, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Early 20th century movie camera, projector, film cases, and accessories.
Donor: Bob Rodkey, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Side saddle.
Donor: Mrs. James E. McKee, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Early 20th century tools.
Donor: Orvin Anderson, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

Picture, "Stags at Bay."
Donor: Robert W. Hoyland, Guthrie, Oklahoma

Four early Guthrie photographs, mounted on cardboard.
Donor: L. Murvyn Anthis, Guthrie, Oklahoma.

NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS*

July 23, 1971 to October 28, 1971

Agnew, Brad	Tahlequah
Anderson, W. H.	Holdenville
Beaty, Lavelle T.	Tulsa
Bolling, W. F.	Tulsa
Bottoms, Miss Sarah R.	Berkeley, California
Bowen, Thomas P.	Muskogee
Byrd, Hubert	Okmulgee
Carter, Raymond H.	Muskogee
Chisum, Grover H.	Concord, California
Collins, Mrs. Virginia	Turlock, California
Costilow, Jack	Jay
Courter, William L.	Tulsa
Couch, Herbert F., Jr.	Nowata
Daugherty, Mrs. David	Agana, Guam
Day, Wayne M.	Seminole
Enos, Earl P.	Duncan
Fincher, L. R.	Drumright
Folta, Thomas L.	Tulsa
Gabehart, Chris	Springer
Graham, Gary Lynn	Dallas, Texas
Haney, Hollis	Oklahoma City
Hill, May Belle	Moore
Howell, A. J.	Oklahoma City
Jones, Stephen	Enid
Lowrey, John D.	Fremont, California
Ludwig, Ruby Ballard	Grove
McMahon, Robert J.	South Lake Tahoe, California
Moss, Mrs. Lantz E.	Oklahoma City
Neill, Mrs. Lewis	Montpelier, Vermont
Northwest Classen Highschool, Social Studies Chairman	Oklahoma City
O'Donovan, C. A.	Tulsa
Rainey, Lawrence	Riverton, Wyoming
Reed, J. E.	Tulsa
Riddle, Clyde M., Sr.	Norman
Tomlinson, L.	Stillwater
Totten, George	Oklahoma City
Salsman, Norbert N.	El Reno

Scott, Gertrude	Ponca City
Spivey, Towana D.	Madill
Straley, Mrs. Donald K.	Tulsa
Vandiver, Norman Evans	Dallas, Texas
Waddle, Miss Frances I	Oklahoma City
Walker, George W.	Muskogee
Williamson, Mrs. Bollard (Magna)	Hammon
Willis, Paul D.	Oklahoma City

There were no new Life Members during this Quarter.

* All members in Oklahoma unless otherwise designated.

New Annual Members	45
New Life Members	0
Total New Members	45

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publications Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are $5.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* Life membership is $100.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is $6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine (1937 to current number), $1.50. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA
1907

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For

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA
VOLUME XLIX, 1971

Compiled by

Rella Looney, Archivist
Oklahoma Historical Society

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COVER: The front cover print "Cowboy in the Indian Territory" is from an old print advertising harness, saddles and buggies in *The Vinita Chieftain* for January 27, 1898. This newspaper was a great advertiser for northeastern Indian Territory, a wide prairie region noted for its cattle ranches and agricultural products, and the Indian International Fair at Muskogee.

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COVER: The "Kiowa Indian Boy" on the front cover is from the original photograph by James Mooney (ca. 1892) of Guy Quoetone at the age of six years before he started to school. See Notes & Documents for cover story in this issue of *The Chronicles.*

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COVER: The front cover is a print from an old picture of the Chief John Ross home, "Ross Cottage," near Park Hill in the Cherokee Nation, taken in the 1850's. The home was burned by some of General Stand Watie's Confederate troops during the Civil War.

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COVER: The front cover carries a photo of *Indiangrass* (scientific name *Sorghastrum nutans*) adopted as the official state grass by the State Senate (Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 72) on January 24, 1972. This tall perennial grass with its "golden plume-like seedheads" is one of the most beautiful, native grasses that grows in all 77 counties of Oklahoma. It is nutritious and is readily eaten by all livestock. *Indiangrass* is now an Oklahoma state symbol included with the state flower (mistletoe), state tree (redbud), state bird (Scissor-tailed Flycatcher), state song (*Oklahoma*), and the Great Seal of the State.

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